Volume 13, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1924

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Notice to Members.

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Anna Richardson, Torresdale, Pennsylvania.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

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THE TERCENTENARY MEETING.

An account of the sessions held at Merion, Old Haverford, and Haverford College, followed by some of the papers read at these sessions.

On Seventh-day, Fifth month 17, 1924, was held the meeting of Friends' Historical Association to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Fox. In reality three meetings were held, as will appear. It was a gorgeous spring day, with kindliest temperatures, almost cloudless skies, and with "Penn's Woodland" at its greenest and loveliest. Thus the weather and the occasion were double inducement to an unusually large attendance, and to a mood most happy. The Founder of Quakerism once passed along the borders of Pennsylvania at exactly the same season of the year. May the skies have been as kindly then!

The sessions centered about the two oldest Friends' meeting houses now standing in Pennsylvania, and the oldest Quaker college in America. These three places chance to be not more than three or four miles from one another.

In the early afternoon Friends began to foregather on the delightful, high-pitched, deep-shaded grounds of Merion Meeting House. The building did not measure up to the multitude, but those who could get inside listened appreciatively to the paper by Charles E. Hires, printed elsewhere in this issue of the BULLETIN.

By motor to Old Haverford Meeting House (not the later House close by Haverford College) was a matter of fifteen minutes for those who failed not of their directions. (A few otherwise consistent Friends wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way and found no city of habitation.) Again the house was overtaxed by the numbers seeking entrance. Again the fortunate ones listened to a vivid story of the ancient days. This discourse was

by the honored Vice President of Friends' Historical Association, Charles F. Jenkins. His paper also is printed below.

Arrived at Haverford College, about four-thirty in the afternoon, the largest company of the day found ample abiding place in the spacious auditorium of Roberts Hall. By an auspicious coincidence this meeting was held in the building donated to Haverford College by Lucy B. Roberts, President of Friends' Historical Association, in memory of her husband, the late Charles Roberts, who was Secretary of the Association in an early year of its history,—1877. In two fireproof rooms of the building are housed the Charles Roberts Collection, containing many rare specimens of early Quaker manuscripts, broadsides, portraits, and other Quakeriana.

Rayner W. Kelsey presided at this session of the meeting, at which it was estimated there were more than five hundred persons present. President William W. Comfort welcomed the gathered Friends in a gracious address printed below. Commander Richmond C. Holcomb drew a vivid picture of George Fox's voyage to America, enlivened by a wealth of anecdote and by the speaker's own experience in shipping, by sail, over nearly the same course. Unhappily, Amelia M. Gummere could not be present. In her place, on short notice, Watson W. Dewees gave a concise and clear-cut outline of George Fox's travels in the American colonies. Violet Oakley, artist-author of "A Message to the World from Pennsylvania" (see BULLETIN, 12:40), spoke on "The Idea of Power" as depicted in the writings of George Fox. A high point in the proceedings of the afternoon was reached in the paper by President Frank Aydelotte, of Swarthmore College. This study of "George Fox's Style" is also printed below in this number of the BULLETIN.

After this session Friends opened the boxes of their own providing and partook also of the ice-cream and coffee that were a part of the hospitality offered by Haverford College. During the intermission there was time also to see the exhibits of Quakeriana in Roberts Hall and in the college Library. In the latter place were arrayed sheets from the portfolio of Violet Oakley; etchings by Robert Spence, representing scenes in the life of George Fox;

ancient imprints of the writings of Fox, from the William H. Jenks Collection in the college Library; and also the seal of George Fox, kindly exhibited by its present owner, George Vaux, Jr. (See notice below concerning this seal.)

The great day of the feast was really the night session. Lucy B. Roberts, President of Friends' Historical Association, presided. Rufus M. Jones delivered his address, prepared for the occasion, on "The Life and Message of George Fox." (See notice below, under Book Reviews.) This interpretation of the life of the Founder was a great climax of a great day. The final words of the speaker will remain long with the hearers: "His [George Fox's] impact on the world has been what he would have wished it to be, slow and gradual, the gentle influence of spiritual forces. He has convinced many and he still convinces some that 'the ocean of Light and Love flows over the ocean of darkness,' and that in spite of all the forces of evil 'the seed of God reigns.' He was, indeed, 'a heavenly-minded man,' and after his long, hard, honest fight for truth and goodness, he had some right to speak those last dying words of his: 'I am clear, I am fully clear.'"

MERION MEETING.

A paper by Charles E. Hires, read at the Fox Tercentenary Meeting, at Merion Meeting House, Fifth month 17, 1924.

Friends, members of the Friends' Historical Association, and others: it seems fitting on this three hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Fox, which we are now celebrating, that we should come to this Old Merion Meeting House, founded about two hundred and forty-two years ago.

In meeting you today we wish you a hearty welcome and shall attempt in a brief way to review a bit of the history of the founders and establishment of this old meeting.

The birth of George Fox brought into life a new factor, a new human element, in the psychology of religious life, that was destined to astound the religious thought of the world. The proclaiming of the thought that God speaks directly to every human

soul put the responsibility upon each one to recognize a divine sense of his obligation to our Heavenly Father to live a pure and correct life for the upbuilding of his kingdom here on earth with the children of men.

Some Welsh Friends that came here had been convinced of the truth of the Gospel, as preached by George Fox and others of the early Friends, and wishing to go where they could have freedom of thought and religious liberty, they came here on the 13th day of the 8th month, 1682, on the good ship *Lyon;* some seventeen families. This land had been purchased by some of this little band,—Dr. John ap Thomas and Edward Jones. Edward Jones took possession of his share of the purchase, and some of his descendants still hold title of the original grants. This has been claimed the first British settlement, but Dr. Smith Heston says that Robert Wade and his family from England settled at Upland (Chester), in 1676, and were the first members of the Society of Friends that located permanently within the limits of the Commonwealth. However this may be, it is certain that the first place of worship was established here. Edward Jones built his first Welsh home here in Merion. These Friends were founders of Merion Meeting, and at first it is said they worshipped in the homes of members. It is said a log house was built first, then this house was built in 1695, the northern end first, and front or southern addition later.

From Merionethshire in North Wales these early settlers came, breaking all their home ties in the old world to begin life anew, taking the name of Merion from Merionethshire, named after a Prince who lived and ruled there a thousand years ago. There is but little time to recount incidents that surround and contribute to the interesting history of these people and this place, so I shall confine my remarks to a few of the many recorded facts of their lives and doings.

When this building was erected there were no highways near, there was no way for the settlers to communicate with each other, except at the pleasure and convenience of each other. Business and their home affairs must wait upon such convenience. It is said that the Courts in Chester at this early date ordered that

every person owning land should make a path to his neighbors, and so on from neighbor to neighbor. Early in the eighteenth century there was a road from Merion Meeting to Darby, by way of Haverford Meeting House. This Montgomery Pike or Avenue used to be called the old Conestoga or Lancaster Road, and was extended to the Brandywine in 1721. It no doubt had been in use earlier from Merion to Philadelphia, connecting with High Street (Market Street) Ferry at the Schuylkill. This road is said to have been an Indian trail. In 1755 a road widened to suit the increased travel was built from Leverings ford, on the Schuylkill, to this Old Lancaster Road, at the northwest corner of this property.

The minutes kept by women Friends tell of eight shillings being paid for cleaning Merion Meeting, 12th month, 1695. Similar entries were made in the meeting minutes for several successive years.

According to the late Dr. Levick, there were among the families arriving on the ship *Lyon* Edward Jones, John Thomas, Hugh Roberts, Robert David, Evan Reese, John Edward, Edward Owen, William Edward, Thomas Richard, William Jones Reese, John Williams, Thomas Lloyd, Cadwalader Morgan, John Watkins, Hugh John, Gainor Roberts, Griffith Owen and others.

There is a recorded burial of a little child Catherine, daughter of Edward and Mebby Reese, 10th month *22*, 1682, only two months after the *Lyon* arrived.

In Howard M. Jenkins' "Historical Recollections" it appears that David James and Robert Turner came over on the ship *Lyon*. Robert Turner was an Irish gentleman and a particular friend of William Penn.

The Minutes of the Preparative Meeting tell of a marriage on the 19th of 3d month, 1693, being solemnized at a public meeting at Merion Meeting House. At a Preparative Meeting held 3 month 3d, 1702, a concern was expressed that servants be given a certificate of behavior at the expiration of their service; that all be cautious and careful of their behavior, that they do not encourage servants to buy their time, by loaning them money to do so, or going bond for them, except their masters be satisfied

therewith; and if the masters deal hard with their servants, that such masters be dealt with.

On 5 month 4th, 1702, Thomas Jones having declared his intention of marriage with Annie Griffith before the Monthly Meeting, is left to his freedom. On 4 month 12th, 1703, Griffith John is continued to speak to those that have not paid their subscription towards building the addition to the Meeting House; the same person is to receive the delinquent subscriptions and bring an account of them to "ye next Meeting."

The Minutes of the Preparative Meeting for 3 month 1st, 1832, say—as the Book of Discipline is intended for the use and benefit of the members of our Society, it is now concluded the meeting should loan it to such of the members as may wish its perusal and apply therefor, making such request of the clerk. Robert Paist is directed to be furnished with it, and have the use thereof until the next meeting. At the meeting on 4 month 5th, 1832, Robert, not having obtained the book previously, is now permitted to use it until next meeting. The next month Robert Paist returned the Book of Discipline. In answer to some of the queries the hour is mostly observed, sleeping and other unbecoming behavior mostly avoided, offenders are dealt with as the query directs.

Some years later, at a meeting held 4 month 5th, 1855, the answer to the queries says, we think our members are generally careful to discourage the unnecessary distillation of spirituous liquors, and to keep from attending places of diversion, or the unnecessary frequenting of taverns, and care has been extended with regard to moderation at marriages.

On 10 month 4th, 1855, the guarded education of youth claimed the attention of the meeting. The matter of providing a suitable place for a school is deferred to the next meeting. On 12 month 6th, 1855, a report was received from women Friends in regard to a school. After deliberate consideration it was concluded that the part of the Meeting House which had been used as a school room should be kept closed, and a lock provided to fasten it.

It seems that the property was held by the Society for a number of years by deed in the form of a lease and release, the first actual

deeds being given in 1745. In 1695 a lot containing about a half acre was conveyed by Edward Reese to the trustees of Merion Meeting for graveyard purposes. In 1763 Joseph Tunis donated a small strip of land adjoining, for like use.

In 1801 and 1804 John Dickinson conveyed to the trustees two lots for the use of the meeting and for the graveyard adjoining, extending from road to road. A dwelling house for the caretaker of the Meeting House was erected.

During the dark days of the Revolution our Welsh Friends of this section were included in the general suffering. Between the two contending armies, their goods and money were taken for the support of both. Cornwallis' Army, as well as that of General Washington are named in our record books, as taking for their needs the property of our members. Almost all the Friends from abroad who visited America under religious concern in early times have held meetings in this old house. William Penn no doubt spoke to these Welsh Friends here, though tradition says many of the hearers were unable to understand the sermon that he preached. John Fothergill makes note of a meeting here 1727; large numbers gathered and the blessed gospel testimony and humble power prevailed the day; Rowland Ellis acted as his interpreter. Many prominent Friends visited and spoke here at different times, among them the following: Thomas Chalkley, Edward Jones, John Woolman, Aron Roberts, and George Truman; also Samuel Levick, whose grave is just inside the gate.

Edward R. Price, John M. George, Joseph W. George, Rebecca Roberts, Hanna Price Brookfield, Sarah F. Robinson, and Anna L. Bernard made liberal bequests for the upkeep, preservation and care of the Meeting House and grounds, which those of us who are living today are trying to administer to the best of our ability for the purpose designated.

We have been honored by your presence here today in such numbers. It would be interesting for us to have your names upon our record book as a lasting memento of this occasion.

OLD HAVERFORD MEETING HOUSE.

A paper by Charles F. Jenkins, read at the Fox Tercentenary Meeting, at Old Haverford Meeting House, Fifth month 17, 1924.

I shall not attempt in the brief and possibly hurried time allotted me to give in minute detail the Minutes of the Meeting covering the history of this ancient meeting of Friends, the house that sheltered their organized worship, or the ground in which their dust now rests. Rather shall I try to paint with a broader brush the events leading up to the settlement of the meeting and something of the three historic townships, two of which, Merion and Haverford, we are visiting today.

Robert Proud, our Quaker historian, thus briefly and satisfactorily tells the whole story of the Welsh immigration. "Among those early adventurers and settlers, who arrived about this time, were also many from Wales, of those who are called Ancient Britons, and mostly Quakers—Divers of those early Welsh settlers were persons of excellent and worthy character; and several of good education, family and estate. They had early purchased of the Proprietary in England, forty thousand acres of land. Those who came at present took up so much of it in the West Side of the Schulkil River, as made the three townships of Merion, Haverford and Radnor, and a few years afterward their number was so much augmented as to settle the three other townships of New-town, Goshen and Uwchland. After this they continued still increasing, and became a numerous and flourishing people." Proud might also have mentioned the body of Welshmen who settled Gwynedd township in 1699 and the neighboring townships of Montgomery and New Britain settled almost entirely by fellow Britons.

The teachings of Fox and his followers seemed to have been better received by the gentry of Wales than by the gentry of England and it appears to be a fact that the Welsh settlers in the great Welsh tract, as a whole, were better educated, and probably better off than the average of English settlers. Many of these Britons brought with them their written pedigrees extending back to the ancient kings of the land of Llewellyn and actually, in more than

one case, back to Adam. They were among the landed gentry of Wales and were able to buy ample acreage and erect thereon the comfortable homes so characteristic of what we today call the Main Line section.

At this late day we may still sympathize with the disappointed Welshmen who had hoped to have a Barony of their own within the Province "within which all causes, quarrels, crimes, and disputes might be tried and wholly determined by officers, magistrates and juries of our language." Seven major land companies bought the thirty thousand acres which constituted the Welsh tract. Five of them bought 5000 acres each and two, the remaining 5000. Later 20,000 acres were taken up by the Welshmen. Roughly the land was laid out on the west bank of the Schuylkill running "three miles upon ye same and two miles backward and then the surveyor was instructed to extend ye parallel with ye river six miles and to run westwardly as far as it was necessary to include the whole Welsh tract." The tract covered approximately 62½ square miles.

Two large octavo volumes have been written concerning the coming and settlement of the Welsh Friends. They are both monuments of painstaking investigation and the searcher after details is referred to their thousand or more pages and satisfying indices. While it would have been desired that these histories might have been written by those more familiar with the antecedents, customs and psychology of Friends, still with some exceptions their general sympathy is manifest, their conclusions are fair and I believe their facts generally correct. These two books are "Merion in the Welsh Tract" by Thomas Allen Glen, published in 1896, and the "Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania" by Charles H. Browning brought out in 1912. Anyone wanting details of families, of the formation of the various land companies, of the location of the homes of the first settlers and in many cases their genealogies, as well as information relating to the founding of the Meetings, will find them there. In Mr. Browning's chapter on the Welsh Friends' Meeting, you will find copious extracts from the Minutes of the Monthly Meeting covering the establishment and the building of this house, one of the oldest of our Pennsylvania Meeting Houses.

The three original Welsh townships of Merion, Haverford and Radnor, all with their names taken from "Hen wlad fy nhadau" —"the land of our fathers," were settled in 1683 and the Minutes of Radnor Monthly Meeting, of which this was a constituent meeting, begin "At the Men's Meeting held at Thomas Duckett's house on the 10th day of the second month 1684," and the meeting of the 5th Month of that year was held at John Bevan's in Haverford. John Bevan's land was across the road from here. He was a minister of prominence and his settlement in Pennsylvania is unique in that he and his wife planned to come to Pennsylvania temporarily because they thought, and here I quote from an account which he himself wrote,—"It might be a good place to train up children amongst sober people." About 1704 his children grown up and comfortably settled, he returned to his native and beloved Wales, as he writes, "The aim intended by my wife was in good measure answered." Thomas Story, one of our leading Quaker ministers and writers, is another outstanding example of a Britisher living here for awhile and then returning to the old country to end his days,—and there are no doubt others.

Almost immediately after the arrival of the Welsh there occurred in 1683 one of those vexatious matters that stirred the Welsh Colony profoundly and was a source of irritation for several years. In running the line between Chester and Philadelphia Counties, Haverford and Radnor townships were thrown into Chester, thus cutting them off from Merion politically. The Welsh strenuously objected and for a number of years these townships were suspended in the air paying taxes neither in Philadelphia or Chester and voting in Philadelphia. In course of time they were obliged to submit to this dismemberment of the Barony. In matters religious, the state could not dictate a division and although Chester County Quarterly Meeting geographically was entitled to both Haverford and Radnor, they resolutely declined to be separated and continued with Merion as part of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, which arrangement has existed to this day. When Delaware County was cut off from Chester County, Haverford and Radnor were included in the former County.

The land on which we are standing belonged to William Howell,

one of the active and interested members, and while I have not looked up the deed, it was he who presumably gave the land first for a burial ground. When meetings ceased to be held in members' homes a rude log meeting house was erected here which Doctor George Smith, the distinguished author of the History of Delaware County, who was a member of this particular meeting, says was built in 1688. The burying ground had been laid out in 1684. In 1697 subscriptions were taken after the manner of the day from other meetings and a stone meeting house was erected, which it is thought is the southernmost portion of the present building, with its rougher masonry, now two and a quarter centuries old, and the date of its completion and occupancy has been placed as 1700. This northern portion with its more careful workmanship, but probably no less enduring walls, was erected in 1800 and is therefore a century younger. There is one curious feature about the structure of this house that I have never seen elsewhere. It was heated by a kind of stove for which the fuel was supplied and piled up outside the building. The tops of these pseudo stoves were of iron and the smoke escaped through a hole in the outer wall a few feet above the fuel supply. There is also a tradition that the window frames and sash both were made of lead and during the Revolution they were seized, melted up, and used for bullets.

There seems no reasonable doubt but that William Penn sat in this ancient house. Thomas Story tells of a visit there in the Eleventh Month, 1699, when in company with the Governor they attended a general meeting at Haverford. Robert Sutcliff records the tradition that Penn, coming one time to Haverford Meeting, took a little bare-legged girl, Rebecca Wood, behind him on his horse and carried her on to the Meeting House.

SALUTATION.

Address of welcome, by President William W. Comfort, to the members and guests of Friends' Historical Association, at the Fox Tercentenary Meeting, Fifth month 17, 1924, at Haverford College.

There are two classes of men: those who derive their inspiration from the past, whose roots are firmly planted in the soil fer-

tilized by their ancestors; and those who admit no debt to the past, who seek no inspiration from it, and who, with faces turned forward, proclaim with confidence, "Les anciens sont les anciens, mais nous sommes les enfants de maintenant."

Strange that the young who are nearest the root are most unconscious of their debt, the first to deny the attachment! Only as we grow older do we see clearly the impossibility of denying our ancestors, and the guilt of proving ourselves disloyal to them. It is a fact that one does not look for young people in such an Association as this gathered here to-day. I fear it is almost a patent of antiquity that is implied by our membership in this Association. Our children are plucking rosebuds while they may, for time is still a-flying. For us, too, time is still a-flying, and by cherishing what we are sure of in the past experience of the race, of the family, we seek to beguile ourselves during the briefer span of life still before us. We are none too sure of ourselves. If it may be, let us be sure of something!

"To each his sufferings; all are men,
Condemned alike to groan,
The tender for another's pain;
Th'unfeeling for his own.
Yet ah! why should they know their fate?
Since sorrow never comes too late,
And happiness too swiftly flies,
Thought would destroy their paradise.
No more! where ignorance is bliss
'Tis folly to be wise."

And so we turn to the journals of our old worthies, the Minutes of our old meetings with their records of marriage and giving in marriage, their petty affairs and their momentous decisions; we get out the pots and kettles and samplers and furniture of our primitive forebears, whose life seems so simple and dignified when compared with the indecent haste with which the children of the world now are hustled through their feverish existence.

There is a legitimate curiosity in some of us to explore these treasures of our Quaker past. Some of us are amateur antiquarians; we delight in turning over these mute, yet throbbing survivors of a day gone by; we revel in seeking dates, in identify-

ing sites, in marking graves, in deciphering messages come to us scented with lavender and bearing the fragrance of old romance in the faded writing of the past.

But in truth, we should not stop there. However pleasing, that is but the trivial value of an Association like ours. We should be, first of all, a holding company for the noble ideals and the hard-won assets of the past. As the Anglo-Norman of the 12th century said, we should recall "the words and the deeds of our ancestors." Not in that spirit of complacency which corrodes so many bodies organized to render homage to the dead, but as a goading spur to virtue. We must see to it that we build more stately mansions on the tried and true foundations which our fathers in the faith have laid. The past must be known and cherished as a guide in the perilous way that lies before us, a way ever beset with notions, fads, and religious vagaries. Standing upon the platform of spiritual truth for which our early Friends suffered, that we might live in freedom, we must raise ourselves up to the plane of active Christian citizenship, armed with simplicity, tolerance, good-will, and charity, and our faces shining from the inner light.

> "Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood."

We should give thanks that in our own day the occasion has come to show forth afresh our belief in this gospel. Not for long has it been so good to be a Friend as in these last days of heavy responsibilities, bravely met by young and old of all shades of Quaker belief. Have not our young men seen visions and our old men dreamed dreams? Yes, midst all the seeming deadness of our staid old Quaker routine there was a spark of life which was quickly fanned when the cry for help was heard.

It is appropriate that a Society of old people should gather here in a place dedicated to the interests and the training of the young. In an American college, above all, we find conservatism and tradition, the spirit of the past applied to the problems of the future. Here history is studied, records are collected and treasured up, customs cherished and handed down, mementoes and memorials passed from one generation of youth to another. Old

buildings, old trees, old books, old pictures look down upon the thoughtless boy as he passes beneath and unconsciously absorbs their lessons. So you are welcome to-day to these grounds, bringing as you do your treasures of memory to those already here. Linger to ponder, ere you go, what all this means, for

> "He in whose heart no history is enscrolled,
> Cannot discern in life's alloy the gold.
> But he that keeps the records of the dead
> Adds to his life new lives a hundred-fold."

GEORGE FOX'S SEA JOURNEY TO AMERICA.

By Commander Richmond C. Holcomb.

A paper prepared for the Bulletin, based upon his address at the Tercentenary Meeting.

On Eighth Month 11th, 1671 (new style), the ketch *Industry* lay at anchor in the Thames River off Gravesend. After a meeting at the house of Thomas Yoakley, several Friends sailed down the river to embark for a journey to America. The next day George Fox came down the river in one of the Navy barges, and also embarked. With him was a young man not yet thirty years of age who with his prospective bride and her mother had come to Gravesend to see him off. He was the son of a late admiral of the British Navy, and the teachings of George Fox had made a profound impression upon him. His name was William Penn.

The *Industry,* like other ketches of that day, was probably a two-masted ship, square rigged on the foremast, and though a fast sailer, she leaked badly. Her master was one Thomas Foster. Sea going in those days was devoid of any comforts, and a voyage to America might take from seven to twelve weeks or even longer. Fresh water frequently had to be rationed like food, and food was limited in variety, and such meat as was carried was preserved in the brine tub. Bread consisted of a type of biscuit, contemptuously called "hard tack." These were not the days of porcelain plumbing, canned goods, or artificial refrigeration. Food was often eaten from a greasy cloth, fingers served as

forks, and a jack knife as a table knife. The ship's mess is a term still preserved, and was probably more expressive of its true character in those days than it is at present.

The sources of our information regarding the voyage to Barbadoes is mainly from the Journal of John Hull, though the Journal of George Fox and the Journal of William Edmonson treat of the voyage, but in lesser detail. Some fifty passengers embarked, among them being thirteen friends (knights-errant of their sect) as follows:

George Fox, William Edmondson, Thomas Briggs, John Hull, John Rouse, Solomon Eccles, John Stubbs, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Withers, George Pattison, Elizabeth Hooton and Elizabeth Meeres (or Miers).

Early the morning of the 13th of Eighth Month the anchor was weighed and the ship sailed out of the Thames River and around the southeast end of England toward the Dover Strait. At the Downes the anchor was dropped again. The ship had made a quick passage, having outsailed the other ships that had left harbor on the same tide with her. Arriving off Deal several Friends, among them George Fox's wife, Margaret, went ashore.

The next morning they were hindered from leaving by the arrival of a press master from two of his Majesty's Men-of-War, anchored at the Downes, who impressed three of the seamen of the crew. This system of impressment was one of the hazards of sea going of those days. For over one hundred years previously the press had been practiced to secure seamen. Friends, relatives and family might wait a long time ere their Jack would return to them, for on his homeward bound journey he might be impressed by the press-master of a man-of-war and unwillingly start a new cruise. Vagrants, debtors and disorderly persons were often impressed, for the merchant sailor hated to serve under the discipline of the man-of-war. On shore it was hard to catch the sailor. His friends could hide him and in time he became expert in eluding the press gang. Hence press-masters had recourse to ships at sea. Homeward bound merchantmen were often stripped of the better part of their crew, even to the extent of sometimes leaving the ship helpless. By some persuasion the Captain and

passengers of the *Industry* were able to convince the Captain of one of the frigates of their leakiness, and in compassion he spared them two of his seamen to make it possible for them to continue their voyage.

All day the 14th they were hindered from sailing by one circumstance or another. An official came aboard and took all their names once more, as had already been done in the river at Gravesend, and a Customs officer came on board "to peruse their baggage and get fees."

In the meantime a considerable Fleet passed the Downes toward Dover Strait outward bound. It was not until sunset that the *Industry* with her fifty passengers was able to weigh anchor and begin her journey toward the distant shore of Barbadoes.

And now, day by day, with care and detail, John Hull kept his diary of the voyage. He tells of the wind, of its direction, of the courses steered, of their religious meetings, of the health of Friends, and of the ships they spoke. From time to time he gives the latitude, so that we can approximate the ship's position.

Frequently he speaks of the leakiness of the ship, all of which they knew quite well before they sailed because they had used this circumstance to induce the Navy Captain to spare them two seamen before they left the Downes. On Eighth Month 24th he writes: "Our ship so leaky ever since we came to the Downes that seamen and passengers do for the most part day and night pump. This day we observed that in two hours she suckt in sixteen inches of water in the well. Some make it ten ton a day. It is well, however, for it is good to keep seamen and passengers in health." Think of them healthfully pumping their way across the broad Atlantic. A month later, Ninth Month 23d, he writes, "A seaman told me they pumped near seven hundred strokes in half an hour, indeed they were necessitated to keep it going still." And George Fox in his postscript notes tells us that the ketch had a hole near her keel large enough to put one's hand through.

On Ninth Month 7th, while sailing through the deep blue waters between Madeira Islands and the Azores in a latitude a little north of Gibraltar, they encountered one of the terrors of the sea of those days. It was a Salleeman pirate. In that day the Barbary

pirates were a terror of the sea. Plunder was their sole object and they salvaged everything. They were organized on business principles. The ships were fitted out by capitalists, commanded by reises or captains, ten per cent of the value of the prizes being paid into the treasury of the pasha. As for their human cargo, the poor were sold as slaves, and the rich were held for ransom. Until the 17th century they operated in galleys, but a Flemish renegade by name Simon Danser taught them the use of sailing ships. One of the most notorious of the Pirate strongholds on the Atlantic at this time was the port of Sallee on the coast of Morocco. It was four o'clock in the afternoon when they spied the Salleeman headed toward the Azores. Upon sighting the *Industry* the Salleeman gave chase. The ship gained upon them coming within four leagues of them before dark, at which time they altered their course, and the Salleeman did likewise.

The moon came up to their disadvantage, and in the moonlight they watched the Salleeman slowly gain until at eleven o'clock they were only one mile and a half apart, when the moon set, leaving the ships in darkness. Again they changed their course, sailing north-east and later east, then south-east, a fresh gale having come up in the meantime. Thus they sailed until the break of day when, as anxious eyes scanned the horizon, they saw no trace of the pirate. Fox, Hull and Edmondson all describe this adventure in their journals. The pirate ship was judged a Salleeman by the cut of her sails.

They had a long voyage yet ahead of them, and by the 22d of Eighth Month the meat in their "harness chest" had gone bad. "George Fox," writes Hull, "met with such stinking meat porke and beife, which caused him to loath flesh a long time after, and lost his stomach with it." And this was a common experience on these ocean voyages of our ancestors. They had the balance of the Eighth Month, all of the Ninth, and a few days of the Tenth yet upon the water. John Taylor, writing in his journal about this time, tells us of his voyage over, "being short of Victuals and Drink, some of the seamen got rats and eat them; and when it rained we took up the rain water off the decks to drink."

These comments from these journals are flashes that give us

a glimpse of the food problem during the long voyages, and it changed very little during a period of two or three hundred years. Thus Antonio Pigafetta recounting his experience with Magellan in the cruise around the world in 1521 writes, according to Richard Eden's translation, " and havynge in this tyme consumed all theyr bysket and other vyttayles, they fell into such necessitie that they were inforced to eate the pouder that remayned there of beinge now full of wormes. . . . theyre fresh water was also putrifyed and become yelow. They dyd eate skynnes and pieces of lether which were foulded abowt certeyne great ropes of the shyps." Even as late as the year 1800 Vice Admiral Lovell of the British Navy complained that the bread of his ships " was full of maggots and weevils, the water so putrid, thick and stinking, that often I held my nose with my hand, while I drank it strained through my pocket handkerchief."

George Fox was ill all the way across and was weaker when he arrived than when he embarked. His legs were swollen and oedematous, and he suffered pains in his limbs and joints, and most of the time was confined to the hot, ill-ventilated space below decks. It was not until late in the evening of Tenth Month 3d that they dropped anchor in Carlisle Bay off Bridgetown of the island of Barbadoes. Fox and his companions landed at once and walked to the house of Richard Forstall. He was quite spent and fatigued when he arrived and was quite ill for several days afterwards. The sea voyage of some fifty days had not been a long one, but his illness was prolonged so that it was several weeks before he was able to attend any meeting. He was at Barbadoes for a little over three months; it was not until the latter part of his stay that he was able to attend the meetings again.

On First Month 8th, 1672, they set out for Jamaica. They were ten days making the sea passage, arriving at Port Royal on the 18th. Arriving at this island, captured from the Spanish some eighteen years before by Admiral Penn, Fox once more began the active service, which characterized the rest of his American journey. He rode many miles about the island setting up some seven meetings. The party left Jamaica Third Month 8th, 1672, *en route* for Maryland.

BAPTISMAL FONTS IN ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, FENNY DRAYTON.

At the older font, in the rear, was baptized the child George Fox, who in later years was to testify against all outward ordinances of religion.

For one week they sailed backward and forward trying to make the windward passage between the islands of Cuba and Haiti. Day by day as they scanned the horizon the island of Jamaica remained in sight. At length they decided to sail around the island of Cuba, so they passed around its western end and after passing the Florida Keys, rounded the Florida peninsula. Now they began to encounter bad weather. Two severe storms broke upon them, in one of which their bow-sprit and jib sail were carried away, and in the other, worn out by fatigue, they tied their rudder amidships and let her run.

It was the 18th of Fourth Month, 1672, before they reached Cape Henry and entered Chesapeake Bay to sail up that bay and anchor off Patuxent River on the 20th. And now again a severe storm blew up and the sea was so rough that they were prevented from landing until Fifth Month 2d, 1672. Their voyage from Jamaica was as long, therefore, as their voyage across the Atlantic, they having been on board fifty-five days.

GEORGE FOX'S STYLE.

By Frank Aydelotte,

President of Swarthmore College.

When Dr. Jones suggested that I should write a paper on George Fox for the Friends' Historical Association, he gave me the title, "George Fox as a Man," thinking it might be of interest to Friends to have a personal impression of their hero from someone outside the fold. I have altered my title only to make it less ambitious, and shall treat style not in the narrow, "literary" sense but rather broadly, as a revelation of the man. A man's style is not the only revelation of his character; it may be misleading in some cases, but it gives a picture of his ways of thought, and "as he thinketh in his heart so is he."

I am well aware that in reading George Fox's *Journal* as a revelation of his character one must make certain allowances. The *Journal* was not written out in the ordinary way but was dictated, and Fox's language was probably modified to a certain

extent by his amanuenses. In the second place one must make allowance for his editors and especially for Ellwood, who, even if he was, as I believe, one of the best who ever undertook such a task, was nevertheless not Fox himself.

The fact of dictation probably accounts for certain extraordinary contrasts in the style of the *Journal*. There are many wonderful phrases, instinct with nervous force and brevity, and along with them a great deal of diffuseness and repetition. Fox's language was, according to William Penn, "uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears," and unquestionably many readers are repelled by passages which seem awkward and verbose. On the other hand Fox thought of himself as a man of few words. "The Lord showed me," he says, "that my words should be few and savoury, seasoned with grace." One need only think back over the *Journal* to remember many expressions of this kind, pithy and full of grace and power. I cannot forbear quoting a few, familiar though they may be to all of my readers since they have become a part of the devotional language of Friends.

"It struck at my life."

"Speak to their condition."

"Unity with the creation."

"All things were new; and all creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter."

(Of the Scriptures) "For I was in that spirit by which they were given forth."

"I sat still, with my mind retired to the Lord."

"Having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord."

"So, Friends, come into that which is over all the spirits of the world, fathoms all the spirits of the world, and stands in the patience; with that, ye may see where others stand, and reach that which is of God in every one."

The contrast between the savor of these phrases and the usual style of the *Journal* is readily explained by the fact that it was dictated. The process of dictation tended to verbosity in the 17th Century just as it does in business letters today.

The *Journal* was prepared for the press by Thomas Ellwood. There is every reason to think that Ellwood did a thoroughly good job and all readers of Ellwood's own *Diary* will give him credit

for being a delightful writer. Norman Penney's recent reprint of the manuscript shows that Ellwood moderates Fox's language on occasion, and the effect of the editing, even if it improves the *Journal,* is to make it seem less striking.

With all these allowances one gets nevertheless from the *Journal* an extraordinarily clear impression of Fox's character, which I see no reason to distrust. The first of these impressions is one of flaming, irresistible power. Of all the important words in the book I should think "power" is most frequently repeated. If Fox had chosen a motto from his own language for his *Journal,* it would surely have been, "For the Lord's power was over all." It is a little hard to reconcile this powerful personality with the meekness of manner, the drab clothing, and the generally subdued impression which the outside world associates with Friends. To me it was rather a satisfaction to learn that George Fox went attired conspicuously in white hat and leather breeches, that he was fond of bringing gay shawls as presents to his wife. From my reading of the *Journal* I associate him with bright colors, with gorgeous sunsets, with sky and fields and granite rocks, with brilliant contrasts of sunshine and storm, with Wordsworth's description of the mountains, and with Turner's pictures of the power and glory of the sea.

This impression certainly fits with what is said so often about the effect of Fox's eyes. It is consistent with the fact that he was at one time offered a commission in the army, and that he inspired respect and awe in all who met him—soldiers, judges, and men of all conditions.

Closely associated with this intenseness of his personality is the impression one gets from the *Journal* of his boundless self-confidence, born of perfect faith. Once Fox had found his message there is hardly a note of indecision in the volume. He is rarely in doubt about what he should do or even about what his adversaries were going to do against him. He is never surprised, never taken at a loss. One feels the truth of William Penn's comment, "I can say I never saw him out of his place or not a match for every service or occasion." The language of the *Journal* is masterful in its assurance: "I know," "I see," "I was to

do this or that," "The Lord directed me," "Then I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord."

"This man speaks with authority and not as the Scribes," says Francis Howgill of Fox—a statement with which Fox entirely agrees. He felt certain of himself, certain of what the Lord wanted him to do. Indeed the extent to which he felt himself to understand the mind of God is sometimes little less than startling.

"Now was there a great pother made about the image or effigy of Oliver Cromwell lying in state; men standing and sounding with trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended."[1]

We have the most extraordinary evidence of the genuine basis and essential humility of this self-confidence in the fact that it is never offensive to the reader.

One of the most curious examples of the note of triumph which sounds through the whole of the Journal is the character of George Fox's references to money. It is not quite clear from what source he received his supplies of money, but the probabilities are that he never had any very large amount. Nevertheless he never seems to feel poor. Of sixteen references to money I noted in the Journal, only one suggests that he was at all hard up. Nearly all the others suggest exactly the reverse. For example, he made it a principle not to attend weddings, but when asked, it was his custom to call later on the newly wedded pair and "if they were poor I gave them some money." Indeed, he gave generously to the poor whether they were newly wedded or not. And he seems at times to have given away his money to people regardless of whether they were poor or not. Speaking of one sojourn in Kendal, he says, "I had silver in my pocket, and I was moved to throw it out amongst the people as I was going up the street."

George Fox spent a good deal of his time in prison and he must have been at considerable expense for food and extras, not to speak of the prison fees. His food he often had cooked and brought in from the outside. He sometimes refused to pay fees as a matter of principle, but it is my guess that he ordinarily paid

[1] *Journal* (Tercentenary Edition), p. 176. All page references are to this, the most convenient edition.

the fees when he does not mention refusing to do so. In at least one instance—Scarborough Castle—he offered his jailer a gift which was not accepted. Next to his expenses in prison must have been his expenses in inns, where he paid his way as he went. I remember no complaints of high prices but on the other hand he is scornful of poor inns even though they are cheap. He habitually refused gifts of money from other people. He could be generous himself but apparently he did not often place himself under obligations to others. Ruskin speaks somewhere of the fact that it is not merely material wealth that makes men rich; some men are poor no matter how great their possessions, while the hands of others are full of invisible gold. George Fox seems to have been one of these. He went through life with a constant feeling of wealth and power and victory.

Along with this self-confidence George Fox possessed great courage, both physical and moral, a courage bordering on obstinacy. He was invariably moved of the Lord to go wherever the authorities forbade him to go and to do whatever they ordered him not to do.

"Now were great threatnings given forth in Cumberland, that if ever I came there again they would take away my life. When I heard it I was drawn to go into Cumberland, and went to Miles Wennington's, in the same parish from which those threatnings came; but they had not power to touch me." [1]

There are many other examples of the same kind:

"In the afternoon the soldiers would needs have us away, so we took horse. When we had ridden to the town's-end, I was moved of the Lord to go back again, to speak to the old man of the house. The soldiers drew out their pistols, and swore I should not go back. I heeded them not but rid back, and they rid after me. I cleared myself to the old man and the people, and then returned with them, and reproved them for being so rude and violent." [2]

A remark which doubtless seemed to the soldiers to be adding insult to injury.

In Beaumaris we have another incident of a similar character. Fox's companion, John ap John, had been cast into prison and

[1] *Journal*, p. 82.
[2] *Journal*, pp. 118–19.

the innkeeper's wife had warned Fox that the officers were planning to do the same to him.

"Soon after came other friendly people, and told me if I went out into the street they would imprison me also; and therefore they desired me to keep at the inn. Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down the streets; and told the people what an uncivil and unchristian thing they had done, in casting my friend into prison." [1]

This courage of Fox's was moral and spiritual as well as physical. Granted a mystical vision like his of the inner truth of things, it is easy to underestimate the amount of courage necessary for a man to declare it. Indeed it took courage even to see it. One must believe in the reality of this vision or the *Journal* will sound simply extravagant. It is not my purpose here to deal at length with his message nor with the element of religious truth which he has contributed to the world, but only to tell of the personal qualities of the man. His personal character, however, has one very striking bearing on the validity of his message which is too important to be neglected.

I can explain what I mean by devoting a few words to a side of Fox's character which, in my opinion, has not been sufficiently emphasized; this is his sense of humor. Fox's humor twinkles merrily between many of the lines of his *Journal,* and it is impossible to believe that he did not himself get the greatest pleasure from his skill in repartee, from the shrewdness and sanity with which he rebuked the foolishness of his contemporaries.

"After the meeting," he says in one place, "the pastor of the Baptists, a high notionist and a flashy man, came to me, and asked me what must be damned; I was moved immediately to tell him that which spake in him was to be damned. This stopped his mouth; and the witness of God was raised up in him, and he also came afterwards to be convinced." [2]

It is impossible not to share the humorous satisfaction with which Fox tells of the prophecies that Friends will all be knocked down within a month, then that they will eat each other out of house and home and fall upon the parish for support, and then that they will take away the trade of the nation.

[1] *Journal,* p. 148.
[2] *Journal,* p. 86.

"About this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us afresh. They had said long before, that we should be all knocked down within a month; and after that, they prolonged the time to half a year; but that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave forth that we would eat out one another. For often after meetings, many tender people, having a great way to go, tarried at Friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lie in; so that some have lain on the hay-mows. Hereupon Cain's fear possessed the professors and world's people, for they were afraid that when we had eaten one another out, we would all come to be maintained by the parishes, and be chargeable to them. But after a while, when they saw that the Lord blessed and increased Friends, as He did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, at their goings forth and comings in, at their risings up and lyings down, and that all things prospered with them, then they saw the falseness of all their prophecies against us; and that it was in vain to curse where God had blessed.

"At the first convincement, when Friends could not put off their hats to people, or say You to a single person, but Thou and Thee; when they could not bow, or use flattering words in salutations, or adopt the fashions and customs of the world, many Friends, that were tradesmen of several sorts, lost their custom at the first; for the people were shy of them, and would not trade with them; so that for a time some Friends could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of Friends' honesty and truthfulness, and found that their Yea was yea, and their Nay was nay; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them; but that if they sent a child to their shops for anything, they were as well used as if they had come themselves; the lives and conversations of Friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in the people. Then things altered so, that all the inquiry was, 'Where is there a draper, or shopkeeper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that is a Quaker?' Insomuch that Friends had more trade than many of their neighbours, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, 'If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.'" [1]

Fox was always in great form in a trial. He had no small amount of legal acumen. He was ready in repartee, fearless and equal to any occasion. Apparently he loved being put to the test, and those who came to expose him usually got the worst of it.

"There came also to see us one Colonel Rouse, a justice of peace, with a great company with him. He was as full of words and talk as ever I

[1] *Journal*, pp. 94–5.

heard any man in my life, so that there was no speaking to him. At length I asked him, to stop him, whether he had ever been at school, and knew what belonged to questions and answers. 'At school!' said he. 'Yes.' 'At school!' said the soldiers; 'doth he say so to our colonel, that is a scholar?' Then said I, 'If it be so, be still and receive answers from me to what thou sayest.' Then I was moved to speak the word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came so over him that he could not open his mouth."[1]

Fox was not even above a practical joke on occasion. The Mayor of Launceston, where Fox was once in prison, became suspicious of the active correspondence which went on between Fox and Friends throughout the country and searched all letters coming into the town. Fox immediately drew up one setting forth the wicked, unchristian acts of the Mayor, and had it carried out of town and in again by a friend of his. The Mayor seized it and read it. "This shamed him so," says Fox, "that from that time he meddled little with the servants of the Lord."

In the presence of the mighty, George Fox was the last man to tremble or lose his self possession. His narrative of one examination shows the shrewd humor and self-confidence which he brought to every situation:

"And before the governor could examine me, I asked him why he cast my friend into prison. He said, 'For standing with his hat on in the church.' I said, 'Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of the hat and then my friend would have but one, and the brims of the hat were only to save the rain from his neck.' 'These are frivolous things,' said the governor. 'Why then,' said I, 'dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?' So then he began to ask me whether I owned election and reprobation. 'Yes,' said I, 'and thou art in the reprobation.' At that he was up in a rage, and said he would send me to prison till I proved it; but I told him I would prove that quickly, if he would confess Truth. Then I asked him whether wrath, fury, and rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation; for he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and His disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any. Then he fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste and passion in him."[2]

There are many other instances in the *Journal* of this humorous shrewdness; for example, the gusto with which Fox tells of

[1] *Journal*, 127–8.
[2] *Journal*, p. 146.

Friends who insisted upon being carried to prison in the literal words of their warrants, even to the extent of making the constables lift them into the carts. Or his mock sorrow at the difficulty the officers had first of all in making Friends go to church and then of getting them out again when they ignored the sermon and used the steeple-house for a Friends' Meeting. Or his remark to a papist jailer that the dark smoky room in which he was confined was purgatory. Or his action in silencing an impudent, pedantic youngster who thought to test him theologically by speaking Hebrew to him, whereupon Fox stopped his talk by answering in Welsh.

One of the finest of Carlyle's remarks on Shakespeare is that the humor and poetry of the comedies is a guarantee of the sincerity of the tragedies. Had Shakespeare been unable to see the humorous or the beautiful side of life, his portrayal of what is ugly and terrible would have been the less convincing. Something like this is true of Fox. His shrewdness, his courage, his sanity, and his humor are a kind of guarantee of the genuineness of his mystical vision. His common sense makes us trust more readily that insight of his which transcends the bounds of common knowledge. Fox was equal to all occasions. He was always ready for the lists, he was always keen and smiling, yet serious in an instant with the sincerity of the mediæval Gothic builders whose religion was so real that they could joke about it and believe in it at the same time.

In such ways as these, it seems to me, Fox's *Journal* is full of the revelation of the man. The impression one gets is that of a great figure—humble in his absolute identification with a cause, great and powerful in the strength of that cause—stalking with long strides across the confused background of the seventeenth century, dwarfing all its petty figures, looking with level gaze at Oliver Cromwell, the greatest. The impression is that of a seer and a prophet, with a mystical vision of the perfect life, brushing aside the hard theological conceptions of his day—total depravity and predestination—rebuking its bibliolatry, daring to believe in the good life and to proclaim it, daring to trust to an inspiration which he did not scruple to put on a par with that of the authors

of the Scriptures, despising theological disputation, meeting it not with an attenuated skeleton of logic but with the bold statement of living truth.

Fox was no word-monger. He was careless of style with the great carelessness of one to whom the idea was more than the word. It is impossible to talk of his style without a certain feeling of the triviality of words, without getting back to the character of the man. There is a paragraph in Emerson's essay on the "Over-soul" which might have been written of Fox, which is a great summary of his personality, and a needful qualification of any comment on his style:

"Converse with a mind that is grandly simple, and literature looks like word-catching. The simplest utterances are worthiest to be written, yet are they so cheap, and so things of course, that in the infinite riches of the soul, it is like gathering a few pebbles off the ground, or bottling a little air in a phial, when the whole earth and the whole atmosphere are ours. The mere author, in such society, is like a pickpocket among gentlemen, who has come in to steal a gold button or a pin. Nothing can pass there, or make you one of the circle, but the casting aside your trappings, and dealing man to man in naked truth, plain confession, and omniscient affirmation."

A DISPUTED PAPER OF GEORGE FOX.

By Henry J. Cadbury,

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One of the most interesting writings of Fox has recently been called to our attention by two English Quakeresses[1] because of its somewhat militant passages. It is entitled "To the Councill of Officers of the Armie, and the Heads of the Nation, and for the Inferior Officers and Souldiers to Read." It is an appeal against the persecution of Friends, containing some vigorous and picturesque details and lamenting particularly that the original

[1] M. R. Brailsford, "Cromwell's Quaker Soldiers" in the *Contemporary Review*, 1915. M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, 1923, pp. 120 ff.

seriousness and sincerity of the Army at the beginning of the wars has been supplanted by the spirit of persecution and of greed. It occupies eight closely printed quarto pages and was published without date, place, or imprint. The signature is F. G. This signature is sometimes used by George Fox, and Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends Books,* 1 : 658, lists this under his name for 1659. The copy in Friends Reference Library, London, is endorsed in pencil "G. F. 1659" and bound and indexed (it is said by Joseph Besse) as the work of George Fox. More recent binders and catalogues naturally have followed suit.

The date and signature of this document have been called in question but apparently not with sufficient warrant. Miss Brailsford in her article appears at one place (p. 656) to assign it to 1653; at another (p. 653) to 1657, the time when General Monk was "purging the army." Miss Hirst (*op. cit.,* p. 120 ff.) doubts whether the tract should be assigned to Fox at all, since the parts quoted resemble a passage in Edward Burrough, and the elaborate conclusion resembles the style of George Fox the Younger. But that conclusion finds sufficient parallel in the conclusions of other letters of Fox (*e.g., Epistles,* Nos. 83, 103, 192, 205, and letters quoted in *Cambridge Journal,* i, pp. 124, 165, 180, 194) including the last phrase (which also occurs twice again in the paper) "the election before the world began" (conclusions of *Epistles* Nos. 61, 171; also in Nos. 131, 206 *bis,* 223, *Cambridge Journal,* i, pp. 124, 331, 333, 379, etc.). So her quotation at the foot of page 121 has parallels in Fox's writing for the same period, *Epistles* No. 188 (1659), "Live in the seed of God that destroys the devil, who is the author and cause of wars and strife," Letter to the King (1660, *Camb. Journ.,* i, 361), "for persecution was ever blind" (cf. *Bi-Cent. Journ.,* i, 176, 312, *Epist.* No. 206).

There are other phrases which are equally characteristic of Fox, notably the familiar words "that takes away the occasion and root of the wars." *Camb. Journ.,* i, 12, 161, 376, *Bi-Cent. Journ.,* i, 451, 495 *bis, Epist.* Nos. 139, 177 *bis,* 188, etc. Among others may be noted without reference to parallels "the just in themselves" (p. 6), "the just in everyone's own particular" (8),

"answers that of God in every man" (4), "the days of the Apostles—all that which is got up since their days" (8).

The subject matter is also much of it akin to Fox's other writings, especially the criticism of persecution. The change and contrast from the seriousness and sincerity of the early Puritan army is mentioned by many Friends besides George Fox the Younger and Edward Burrough (Hirst, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 f.). One could quote among others Howgill, *One Warning more to England;* Hubberthorne, *A Word of Wisdom and Counsel to the Officers;* Penington, address to *The Parliament, the Army,* etc., and Fox himself, *Camb. Journ.*, i, 341. As for the militancy of the passages which describe what the English army might have done abroad, if they had been faithful, putting down the persecution of the Spaniard, Pope and Turk, they are scarcely stronger than another passage from Fox, his apostrophe to Cromwell printed in Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism,* p. 440.

It may be confessed that Fox rarely wrote with such sustained vigor and freshness of phrase. And the possibility must be left open that in this paper others collaborated with him. Some one who has access to a fuller Quaker library could perhaps discover what Quaker contemporary if not George Fox himself supplies parallels to certain expressions that I have not been able to match in Fox: *e.g.,* "the Devil, that Lord persecutor" (a play on Lord Protector?); "What a dirty, nasty thing it would have been to have heard talk of a House of Lords among them!" The *Declaration* of January 1661 (*Bi-Cent. Journ.*, i, 494 ff.) which is said to have been drawn up by Fox and Richard Hubberthorne suggests an interesting parallel in composite authorship but it does not promise much success for discrimination of different authors' hands; for while that manifesto shows marks of Fox's style, *e.g.,* among others two phrases already mentioned,—"the occasion of wars," "the election before the world began,"—Hubberthorne's printed works do not reveal any marks of his style that were impressed upon the Declaration. The disputed paper can in any case scarcely be denied at least the joint authorship of Fox and responsible publication over his signature.

Greater certainty seems possible concerning the date of this paper. Its address suggests the period between the death of the

Protector and the accession of Charles II. All the complaints about the loss of virtue in the army which have been mentioned above as comparable to it belong to the year 1659. It refers to persecutions as having gone on these seven or eight years (p. 4). If we take the year 1652 as the beginning of persecution with Hubberthorne (*Works,* p. 277), or as the beginning of the Society with Margaret Fell and Burrough (Brayshaw, *Personality of George Fox,* p. 10 n.), that also brings us to 1659–1660.

There is some further internal evidence of date. It mentions (p. 3) the cutting off of ears in New England (law passed October, 1657, first inflicted August, 1658) and the burning in the hand (only one case is mentioned in reports to the King, Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies,* p. 92, Bishop, *New England Judged,* Second Edition, p. 318, which is certainly that of Humphry Norton at New Haven early in 1658, Bishop, *op. cit.,* p. 156); but does not mention the executions at Boston, October 27, 1659, of which news reached England in February, 1660 (see note in *Camb. Journ.,* ii, 376). The number of victims it gives (p. 3) of persecutions in England, viz. "above twenty hundred persecuted and imprisoned within these few years," "above twenty . . . imprisoned to death within these few years," "about two hundred prisoners now," fit in well between the figures given for April 6, 1659, and May 29, 1660, "when the King came in." On the former date Parliament was informed that 1960 had been in prison within six years, 21 had died, 144 were still in prison (*Beginnings,* p. 454). For the latter date the corresponding figures were 3179, 32 (*Camb. Journ.,* i, 464; *Beginnings,* pp. 464 and 465 n., gives these two numbers as 3170 and (!) over 300) and about 700 (*Camb. Journ.,* i, 385).

The arguments derived from the contents of a writing to determine its date and authorship are usually only relatively convincing. The style of the early Friends was so similar and their custom of joint authorship or even of authorship by proxy was so common that the interesting evidence from diction is especially difficult to apply to their writings. The tract we have been examining may belong in part to others but good reason has been adduced above to trust its early attribution to George Fox himself and to the year

1659. It reveals not merely an unwonted vigor of style in that rugged personality, but a phase in Fox's attitude towards war that is significant even if not consistent. By revealing his sympathy with the early ideals of Cromwell's army it shows how Fox's pacifism was not an extreme and suddenly revealed doctrine but a natural development growing amid outer and inner tendencies that pulled the other way. The searchings of heart which preceded and constantly tested his personal renunciation of all outward fightings can readily be imagined and appreciated by many who are finding their way to a similar testimony in our own day.

A TERCENTENARY PUBLICATION.

It was a happy thought which suggested to the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia (now Friends' Historical Association) the celebration of the tercentenary of the birth of George Fox by the publication of several journals, not hitherto published, giving further information of his travels. These are to form a supplementary volume to the two published in 1911 and known as the Cambridge edition of the Journal. The title of the new volume will be *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox.*

The commission to arrange for the copying, printing, and editing of this volume was given to Norman Penney, LL.D., who so ably edited the previous volumes, and who has been closely engaged for some time on this work.

The first manuscript to be annotated was that known as "The Short Journal of George Fox." This is not so much a journal as an account of various events in Fox's life from the time of his early preaching to his imprisonment in Lancaster in 1664—"and so I was sent to prison where now I am." The manuscript has reposed in Friends' Reference Library, London, for many years. It was written in part of an old copy book, a few leaves of which still adhere. It consists of 122 oblong pages, measuring about 8½ inches by 6½ inches. On the last leaf is written, in Fox's hand, "a short jornall of g ff never wer printd." In it there are fuller references to Fox's sufferings, fuller reports of his sermons,

and numerous interesting passages new to readers of the Journal as hitherto known.

The second manuscript is contained in two small volumes referred to in Fox's testamentary documents as "ye little Jornall Books." It has been given the name of the Itinerary Journal, as it supplies very full accounts of daily journeys in and around London, covering the years 1681, 1683–1687, 1688–1690/91. These little books, measuring 6 inches by 3¾ inches, have also been in the Reference Library for many years. They throw a flood of light upon the last years, revealing Fox as a pastor rather than the evangelist of earlier years. He attended business meetings, marriages and funerals, acted as peacemaker, gave consideration to the spreading of literature, the making and carrying out of wills, instructed innkeepers in their business, considered fair salaries, and many other duties of the shepherd of the flock. The terrible sufferings of his earlier life, added to the constant activities of later days, wore him down and he died a few days after "declaring a long time pretiously & very audably at Gracechurch Street meeting," First Month, 1690/91, aged sixty-six.

The third manuscript has only recently been acquired by the Reference Library and it has been thought well to add it to the two Journals. It is known as the Haistwell Diary, having been written, or copied from earlier documents, by Edward Haistwell, who was George Fox's amanuensis, and who recorded the movements of his "well beloved Friend and Master" from early in 1677 to the middle of 1678, during part of which time they travelled together in Holland. This Diary is written in excellent handwriting in an oblong book of 121 pages, measuring 7⅞ inches by 3 inches, the cover having once formed part of a Latin missal. The little volume was in the possession of the Forster family and came to Friends from the library of William Edward Forster on its dissolution in 1922.

These three manuscripts will be introduced to the reader of the volume by T. Edmund Harvey, M.A., M.P., who wrote the Introduction to volumes one and two of the Cambridge "Journal of George Fox." Very full notes to persons, places and subjects not

dealt with in the previous volumes will be supplied by the Editor. It is hoped to have the book ready near the end of 1924.

(The greater part of the above account was prepared for the *Bulletin* by Norman Penney upon request. The appreciative references to himself were added by the editor without request or permission.)

A DOUBLE ACQUISITION.

The Philadelphia neighborhood of Friends is rejoicing in the recent acquisition of two valuable memorials of Quakerism. Legal title to them is vested in George Vaux, Jr., of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. There is a social claim, however, established by community interest, shared by a host of Friends who dwell in the hither parts of Penn's woodland. The valuables in question are a painting of Elizabeth Fry, and a small silver seal bearing the letters "G. F."

The painting entitled "Newgate, 1818," is by an English artist, Henrietta Mary Ada (Mrs. Edward M.) Ward. It represents Elizabeth Fry, with her young friend, Mary Sanderson (afterwards Mrs. Fox), in the entrance of Newgate prison. "Of the Inferno behind the iron palisade just one glimpse, and no more, is discreetly given; but it is enough to bear out Mary Sanderson's subsequent horrified remark, that 'the railing was crowded by half-naked women struggling together for front situations with the utmost vociferations.'

"The dress which Mrs. Fry wears in the picture was painted in her favorite color, a silver fawn. The shawl was copied from one belonging to Elizabeth Fry, and even the Bible she carries, with its bright red cover, is an exact copy of the one she used on these occasions. It will be noticed that E. Fry wears a rose in her dress; this has seemed to some to be an improbable touch, but Mrs. Ward has been assured by a member of the family that such was E. Fry's invariable custom when visiting Newgate."—Whitten, *Quaker Pictures,* 57–58.

The picture was dedicated, by permission, to Queen Victoria, It was exhibited in the Royal Academy, London, in 1876, and received at that time "a written testimonial to its merits, of a

very unusual character, signed by fourteen Royal Academicians and other leading artists." The painting was brought to the World's Columbian Exposition, in Chicago, 1893. Later it was purchased by a wealthy art-lover in Philadelphia. After his death it was offered for sale in the course of the settlement of his estate. Thus it was purchased by George Vaux, Jr., in Third Month, 1923.

The painting is illustrated in the *World's Columbian Exposition Catalogue,* page 62; also in Wilfred Whitten, *Quaker Pictures* (1892), page 52. In the latter book, pages 57–58, is a valuable note concerning the picture and the artist. See also *The Essayist and Friends' Review,* 1 (1893), page 27. Mrs. Ward, the artist, was still living at last report, and celebrated her ninety-second birthday recently (1924) at her home in Chelsea, London. (Later: She died 7 mo. 12, 1924.)

The seal, recently purchased by George Vaux, Jr., and sent to him from England, is said to be the original seal of George Fox. An ample pedigree, in substantiation of its lineage, came with the seal and is as follows:

"In 1669, when he was in Ireland, as he was leaving Limerick, George Fox took off this silver Seal, and gave it with his own hand to Richard Pierce, a Friend who held his horse-bridle as he mounted. Richard Pierce died in 1690, the Seal passing to his son Samuel Pierce (b. 1685–d. 1753), who left it to his daughter Elizabeth (b. 1723–d. 1791). In 1748 she married William Richardson and when she died she left the Seal to her daughter Sarah Richardson (b. 1750–d. 1836), wife of James Hill Phillips (b. –d. 1792).

"Sarah Richardson Phillips gave the Seal to her son Edward Phillips (b. 1787–d.), a much valued Friend of Limerick Meeting. He was engaged to be married to Deborah Fisher (b. –d. 12th Mo. 1850), but died before his marriage was accomplished. A very few hours before his death he gave the Seal to his fiancee, the above named Deborah Fisher. It was in her possession for about thirty (30) years, and on her death she bequeathed it to her nephew Samuel Alexander, once of Limerick and later of

London, England. He died 3d Month 1st, 1907, aged eighty-eight (88) years. In his will proved at London 4th Month 3d, 1907, appears the following clause: 'To my son Edward Alexander I give the Seal at one time belonging to George Fox.' I purchased the Seal from Edward Alexander 9th Month 25th, 1923." (Signed) George Vaux, Jr.

While the above is of course not proof positive of authenticity, it bears the marks of a reliable, continuous tradition. It is as convincing testimony as is usually obtainable in connection with such relics, and will be accepted by most Friends unless counter-evidence should come to light.

The presence of George Fox's seal among us is one of the happiest omens of the tercentenary year.

OKEHOCKING.

An interesting and important occasion was the unveiling, on Sixth Month 21, 1924, of a marker on the site of the only Indian reservation ever established by William Penn.

The location of the site was established by our fellow member and Director, Albert Cook Myers, Secretary of the Pennsylvania State Historical Commission, who gave the historical address on the occasion of unveiling. The marker stands on the side of an embankment bordering the State Highway (Philadelphia and West Chester Pike), in Willistown Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, about four miles west of Newtown Square, and seventeen miles west of Philadelphia. The ground on which the marker stands was generously donated by Dr. Thomas G. Ashton, whose "Delchester Farms" are on the site of the former Indian village. On the occasion of the unveiling Dr. Ashton presented the deed for the plot of ground and it was received by J. Frank E. Hause, President of the Chester County Historical Society. Former Governor William C. Sproul gave a ringing address, and John Russell Hayes, Librarian of Swarthmore College, read an effective poem written for the occasion.

Two of the guests present gave very impressive touches to the occasion. One was Bernard Penn-Gaskell McGrann, eighth in

direct descent from William Penn, who read the Founder's generous and kindly letter to the Indians of Pennsylvania, dated Second Month 21, 1682 (old style). The other was the young Indian Chief, Strong Wolf, who, dressed in the full regalia of a native chieftain, invoked, in the Indian tongue, the blessing of the Great Spirit, the "Kitchi Manito."

The marker consists of a tall, native time-stained boulder to which is attached an inscribed bronze tablet, designed by Paul C. Cret, of Philadelphia. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

OKEHOCKING

INDIAN TOWN

The Chiefs
Pokhais, Sepopawny
and Muttagooppa
with their people
of the Unami Group
Their Totem—the Tortoise
of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delawares
were moved from Lower
Ridley and Crum Creeks
by
William Penn
to a square tract of 500 acres
on the north side of this road
east of Ridley Creek,
the only Indian Reservation
the Proprietor ever established.
1701.

Marked by
Pennsylvania Historical Commission
and the
Chester County Historical Society.
1924.

DOCUMENTS.

A GEORGE FOX LETTER.

The following letter, not heretofore published, was transcribed *verbatim et literatim* for the Tercentenary Number of the BULLETIN by Norman Penney, LL.D., who also supplied the annotations.

The original of the letter, in George Fox's own hand, was formerly the property of Caroline Brown, of Elmhurst, Tuffleigh, Gloucester, England.

"It came into the owner's hands in 1878, at the death of Helen Bevington, daughter of Richard and Ann (Beesley) Bevington, and aunt of the late Richard Gopsill Brown, husband of the present owner of the letter. It is the only one left of several once wrapped together in parchment, and endorsed, 'Original Letters of George Fox, dated 1675, 6, and 7.' The letter opens with a salutation of love, and then recounts, with more detail than given in G. F.'s *Journal,* the incidents of their stormy crossing. Gertrude Derrick Niessen and William Penn suffered much from sea-sickness. The date of the letter is valuable confirmation of the chronology of *The Journal.* It occupies one and a half pages of paper, twelve and a quarter inches by eight and one twelfth inches.

"G. F. wrote his account of the voyage on the evening of arrival at Harwich; William Penn's account, addressed to 'Friends of Holland and Germany' and given in his *Travels,* was dated the following morning. Probably W. Penn was not well enough to write within a few hours of landing."—*Journal of Friends' Historical Society* (England), *2* (1905) : *2.*

Caroline Brown bequeathed the letter to Friends and it came to Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, in 1923. It bears the following endorsement in the hand of Sarah Fell: "G. ff to ffrds in Holland from Harwich, touching his & ffrds passages oversea."

THE LETTER.

(Braces enclose matter inserted above the line in the manuscript. Square brackets enclose presumed omissions.)

my der frends to whom is my love at roter dam & at harlam & at aneser dam [Amsterdam] & at harling [Harlingen] & at altmar [Alkmaar] & in all other plases as thof [though] i namd them one by one in the trouth & love of god & in his ever lasting seed in whom you all have peace & rest & my desers [desires] is that {none of} you all m{a}y squench any mashar of the lord that stores in you for him thof [though] it be a cros to youer willes but be obedent for i doe be leve if that you be ebedent to the storing of the heavenely spirit of the holy god hee will open youer moueth to his

praes to the anesering that of god in otheres soe my deseres [desires] is that you may be obedent & feathfull to the lord & valant for his trouth up on the earth & carfull of the lordes [1] glory & honer who hath mad you his & veseles of his marses & that you may be the spreaders of godes trouth abrod & counfanderes of deceat soe that nothing may re[m]ane but the seed of trouth. & in that you may all in creace & bring forth freutes to the glory & praes of the great god & his son whoe is over all blesed for ever amen

[2] now con saring paseges it is like wilam pen hath given you an acount but this i doe say that it was the lordes pouer that did presverse us & it was a mirkell for wee had a great storme & ouer ship was soe leake that boeth the pompes could not {hardly} aneser & the master stoped som leakes in the day time but in the night the stormes was soe great & the ship soe leake [3] & the pasangeres all soe sicke [3] that the pomp went all night & i had such a travell on my spirit consaring the ship & the people for i saw the people as thof [though] the[y] had ben all sunke in the seay & the people was in a petefull feare & i deserd the lord god of heaven for his name & truth sake whoe had the windes in his hands & the seay in the holow of his hands who could stope the leakes [4] & the seay {at his pleasher} & the lord god did aneser mee & his pouer went over all & his glory did shine over all [5] & i did her the pompes suck [5] & the wind came mor fare for us & soe wee cam all safe to hareg [Harwich] abought 7 ouer the 23 day 8 mo: 1677 & in the midest of the storme i was over all in the life thof [though] i felt i could a sueferd with the people but still i was over all in the glorues pouer & life {in my walking}.

& ther came such great forceable waveses of the seases up {on} the deecke that i was a scard that som of the seamen had ben washd over borde {for the[y] all did worke for ther liveses} but the lord god did presverse all soe to his glory {thankes} & prase be it & ther was a meny pasengers & great parsones [6] & a lady & a cornall [6] & {w p &} i spake {to them} & the[y] was loving & i spake to the people alsoe in publicke & all touke it well & was loving [.] [7] & cartrit [Gertrude] was very sicke & wilam pen soe that hee vmotd blood [7] but all is well blesed be the lord for ever amen [.] [2] soe all frendes dwell in the love of god & edefie one another in it & rember my love to frendes at hambrow [Hamburg] & at fred restil [8] & hambrow [8] & at emden & at gronening [Groningen] & at Leu{w}ardan [Leeuwarden] & at the contery vileges gff

harag [Harwich] 23 day 8 mo 1677

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[1] First written *his glory,* then the word *his* was crossed out and *the lordes* inserted above the line.

[2] . . . [2] From the words *now consaring* to the word *amen* the letter has cross strokes through it. The whole letter has been marked by an early editor preparing The Journal for the press. In the top left hand corner

are the words: "R Read to be printed but what is Crosst: Laid by." In the margin at the beginning of the crossed out part are the words: "ye followinge In ye Journall." The crossed out part was, however, not printed.

[3]...[3] These words are crossed through heavily, either by the writer or, more probably, by the editor.

[4] First written *leakes* and then over-written *waves*.

[5]...[5] These words are erased.

[6]...[6] These words are crossed out. Perhaps they were considered to be covered by the general term "great persons."

[7]...[7] This interesting personal touch has been erased. The word *cartrit* probably refers to Gertrude Dirick Nieson (or Gertrude Derrick Niessen) as mentioned in above excerpt from F. H. S. *Journal*.

[8]...[8] These redundant words have a line through them.

BOOK NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

Books of interest to Friends may usually be purchased at the following places:

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.

Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 2, England.

When the price of an English book is given below in terms of American money, it means that one of the American book stores has quoted that price.

Coupland, R. *Wilberforce*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1923. Pp. 528, cloth. $4.50.

This new and important life of William Wilberforce is mentioned here because of the close association between Wilberforce and Friends in the anti-slavery crusade, prison reform, and other good works. Even though Wilberforce was not a Friend, and once came away from a too long Quaker meeting "thankful" that he was not, yet his biography always reads like a chapter from Quaker history.

"When the crusade for Abolition absorbed his mind, he was drawn closer to America by the knowledge that the first assault upon the Slave Trade had been made by American Quakers."—p. 361.

"He reminded the House (House of Commons, in 1823) that it was the Society of Friends who had first petitioned Parliament against the Slave

Trade—quiet, retiring people, only obtruding themselves on the public at the imperative call of justice and humanity."—p. 475.

The above quotations, and many other passages in the book, reveal the Quaker threads in the pattern.

Emmott, Elizabeth B. *Early Quakerism in Wales.* London: Friends' Bookshop. [1924.] Pp. 15, paper. 6 d. (For sale at Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch St., Phila., 20 cents, postage extra.)

This is a brief but enlightening sketch by the author of "A Short History of Quakerism." It was written on account of the holding of London Yearly Meeting in Wales this year.

Friends in America will be most interested in the section entitled "Emigration to Pennsylvania" and in the concluding section which is as follows:

> "But the gain to the new country was a heavy loss to Quakerism in Wales itself; a loss from which it has never recovered. In many cases whole families emigrated; in others only the aged parents remained behind and it was inevitable that the Society should find itself terribly weakened by the removal of its most promising and faithful sons. Richard Davies, John ap John and Charles Lloyd, who had all taken an active part in the purchase of the land in Pennsylvania (and had, in fact, a large tract allotted to them), never went there themselves, feeling that their service lay with the little remnant who were left behind, but in spite of their faithful shepherding, the life of the Society in Wales from this time lost its vigour and gathering power, and now in many centres where there used to be numerous and healthy meetings the 'Quakri' are only a name or a cherished tradition.
>
> "But we must not close on a sad note. In recent years there have been signs in Wales, as elsewhere, of a revival of the spirit of the early days. The building of a new Meeting-house at Peny-y-bont, near the old Pales Meeting-house, the work at the new centre at Llandrindod Wells, and the opening of a Meeting-house at Colwyn Bay, all lead us to hope that although there are still many deserted old meeting-houses and an even larger number of forgotten graveyards, fresh life is springing up in some places, and George Fox's vision of a great people to be gathered in these parts may again be realised."

Forbes, Harriette Merrifield (compiler). *New England Diaries. 1602–1800.* Privately printed. 1923. Pp. 439, cloth. $6.00.

This is a voluminous and useful compilation of New England diaries, by which is meant "those either kept by a resident of New England at home or abroad, or by the stranger who came to our shores and wrote his experiences and impressions."

Some of the lesser Quaker diaries have not been included, but the major Journals, such as those by William Edmondson, John Burnyeat, Thomas Story, and others, can be found by looking through the body of the book. Strangely enough none of these outstanding Quaker Journals are found in the Index, which otherwise seems to be very complete. One guesses that

the Quaker field was worked as an afterthought, after the index had been compiled.

The reviewer estimates that more than fifteen hundred titles are included, with helpful annotations by the compiler. Such a list will be appreciated by all students of New England history.

Grubb, Edward. *The Evangelical Movement and its Impact on the Society of Friends.* 1924. Pp. 36, paper.

This is a pamphlet reprint of Edward Grubb's presidential address before the Friends' Historical Society (England), 1923. It was first printed in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* First Month, 1924, and was reviewed in the BULLETIN, 13 (Spring, 1924), 28.

Jones, Rufus M. *The Life and Message of George Fox, 1624–1924.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1924. Pp. 31, cloth. Twenty-five cents.

This is the tercentenary address delivered by Rufus M. Jones at Haverford College, Fifth Month 17, 1924, at the meeting of Friends' Historical Association held to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of George Fox's birth.

The address was the culminating event of the tercentenary meeting, and is the ripened fruit of the author's long time study of philosophy, religion, and Quakerism. It is interpretative rather than annalistic,—an appraisal with the inventory omitted. It is not a mere glorification of George Fox. It does not blink the defects and crudities in his personality. It does sift out the chaff and dust of inconsequential things and get at the very nub and pith of Fox's message.

To the present reviewer the following are the most significant sentences in the little book:

> "For him salvation was not believing a doctrine of the atonement; it was a living, triumphant deliverance from sin and the love of it, and the formation of a new and Christlike nature and spirit within. Instead of mystifying and confusing the mind with logical complications about the Trinity, he focussed his attention on the important business of getting an effective *experience* of God, finding Him revealed as a loving Father, a forgiving, sacrificing Christ, and as an inward, invisible, transforming, spiritual presence."

This is not a new thought about George Fox, but it is one that will never grow old. It never before meant so much as it does today, and it will be still more meaningful as the years pass.

There is a useful chronology of Fox's life (p. 30) and a brief bibliography (p. 31) that will be helpful to those unacquainted with the literature of the subject. By the foresight of author and publisher the booklet was for sale on the day the address was delivered. By the generous provi-

sion of a special fund the price was made so low as to be within the reach of all. It is a fine little giftbook and all Friends should coöperate in distributing it widely.

Lindquist, G. E. E. *The Red Man in the United States.* New York: George H. Doran Co. 1923. Pp. 461, cloth.

This is partly a history of Indian missions and partly a survey of the present social, economic and religious life of the Indians. It is richly illustrated, and contains brief references to the work of Friends at Tunesassa, New York, and in the west.

Penney, Norman (editor). *The Journal of George Fox.* With an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones. London: J. M. Dent and Sons. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1924. Pp. 359, cloth. $2.00.

This edition of the Journal of George Fox now takes its place as the standard edition for general use,—although the Cambridge edition, *verbatim et literatim,* remains unique as the work for scholarly reference and research.

This "Tercentenary Text" has been kept within the bounds of one handy volume by omissions of less important matter, especially of papers written by Fox, and of the non-autographic portion of the Journal. This latter portion, covering the years 1675 to 1690, was never done by Fox himself but was filled in from miscellaneous sources by Ellwood and others after Fox's death. These later years are covered in the Appendix of the present volume by a brief sketch, with numerous selections from Fox's letters and other writings of that period.

The value of the present edition is enhanced by additions from the Cambridge *Journal,* and from the *Short Journal,* soon to be published; also by a penetrating, interpretative introduction from the hand of Rufus M. Jones.

The Ellwood Text, first published in 1694, and revised in the Bicentenary Edition of 1891, is the basis of the present work. As is well known, Ellwood and later editors corrected and smoothed out the language and spelling of the rough hewn original. It made easier going for the uninitiated, as may be judged by comparing the following excerpts:

> "And Then wee came to Darby & Lay att a Doctors House his wife was convinced & severall in ye Towne, & as I was walkeing in my Chamber ye bell rung & itt struck at my Life at ye very heareing of itt, & I asked ye woeman of ye House what ye bell Rung for? & shee said there was to bee a great Lecture y^{t} day & aboundance of ye Officers of ye Armie & Preists & Preachers were to be there & a Collonell y^{t} was a preacher."
>
> —Cambridge Edition (1911), vol. 1, page 2.

> "Coming to Derby, I lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced; and so were several more in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the bell did ring, and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it; so I asked the woman of the house what the bell rang for. She said there was to be a great lecture there that day, and many of the officers of the army, and priests, and preachers were to be there, and a colonel that was a preacher."
>
> —Tercentenary Text (1924), page 30.

Not the least valuable part of this book is the ten pages of illustrations, well executed by artist and printer. There are the Lely portrait of George Fox, views of Swarthmoor Hall, Fenny Drayton, and Sedbergh, and six reproductions from the admirable etchings by Robert Spence representing scenes from the life of Fox.

This edition of the *Journal* is one of two monuments to the Founder builded by the hands of Norman Penney in this tercentenary year. The other is to be volume 3 of the Cambridge *Journal,* under title of *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox.*

(Probably before this BULLETIN comes from the press a cheaper edition of the *Journal,* in smaller format, will be published as a volume of Everyman's Library. The plates of the Tercentenary edition will be used but the illustrations will be omitted.)

Sefton-Jones, Margaret. *Old Devonshire House by Bishopsgate.* London: Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 1923. Pp. 160, cloth. $1.25.

On Fifth month 2d of last year, the very day, I believe, that it was put up at auction, I took a last, long, lingering look at Old Devonshire House by Bishopsgate. Even the scattered memories of an American made the parting sad. To English Friends, accustomed from childhood to the dim meeting rooms which have echoed to the voices of saints living and dead, and to the dingy and labyrinthian ways along which they and their ancestors since 1665 have climbed and scuttled to committees, the rending of old ties and associations must have been melancholy indeed.

But nothing can be wholly lost whose traditions are treasured in men's hearts and whose history has been accurately written in a book.

Margaret Sefton-Jones, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, has performed a great service to Quakerdom by issuing, in the very year of the sale, her book called *Old Devonshire House by Bishopsgate.* It is dedicated "To the dear memory of Isaac Sharp and William Frederick Wells, the two Friends most intimately associated with 'Devonshire House' as I have known it." The frontispiece is a diagram of the site plan showing the different properties which were combined to make the place we know.

The opening paragraph of Chapter I describes the subject and gives the aim of the author: "Secluded, yet surrounded by the thronging life of London, lies a quiet spot which for more than two hundred and fifty years has been the center of Quaker corporate life and work. This plot of

ground, situated at the junction of Bishopsgate and Houndsditch, in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate and in the ancient Manor of Stepney, has a history reaching far back into the dim past. To draw the veil aside, to recall the memory of those who dwelt there, to catch some fragrance from their lives, has been my aim."

Then follow 152 pages containing the results of the most painstaking research into the intricate history of a piece of land which lay under the shadow of the Roman wall, and just without the Bishop's Gate the building of which is vaguely ascribed to the saintly Saxon Erconwald about the year 675.

A glance at the index reveals the bewildering number of people who have had some connection with the history of this site. Every page of the book is bespattered with picturesque names from King Lud of the ancient Celtic legends down through the Danish King Sweyn who "after dreadful bodily sufferings, departed to Hell"; Ailwin Hunne whose name survives in "Hounsditch"; Walter and Roisia Brun, who in the year 1197 gave the property for the site of the Hospital and Church of St. Mary; Nicholas Pungg, whose thousand year lease on the property will not expire until 2358; Jasper Fisher of "Fisher's Folly" on a part of the site of which the old Meeting House of 1678 was built; Sir John Harrington, under whom Fisher's Folly, renamed Harrington House, "continued to be the resort of all the fashionable world"; and finally the Earl and Countess of Devonshire who, changing the name to Devonshire House, entertained royalty in the old Banqueting Hall of Fisher's Folly. In 1674 the Countess died and "the old buildings erected by Fisher in his pride and glory, were now to be pulled down and the site to revert to the use for which the piety of past ages had dedicated it. Though the plain Meeting House of the Society of Friends bears little outward resemblance to the beautiful Church of St. Mary, the worshippers gathered in it may perhaps claim some inward spiritual kinship with the souls of Walter and Roisia, whose gift was made to the glory of God and for the help of their fellow men."

It was the burning of the "Bull and Mouth" that obliged Friends to obtain shelter elsewhere and so a part of the untenanted mansion of Devonshire House, then still the property of the old Countess and the Second Earl of Devonshire, was rented to Friends at 70 pounds per annum. Soon the "turned carved pillars," "the fair carved portals," "the carved chimney piece" and the "chambers curiously wainscoated with carved work," were torn away and replaced by the unadorned Meeting House of a plain people.

From time to time the adjoining estates whose history is so faithfully recorded in this book were added to the original purchase, the last being in 1921, when the old Staple-de-Hall site (in which the bookstore is) was purchased from the inheritors of the ancient foundation of the Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate.

"In concluding this historical survey of a very ancient site," writes the author, "it may be said that though all things material have vanished, the Wall, the Gate, the Barriers of outward forms which divided the Quaker from his fellows, yet the spirit which animated the deeds of Love and Charity recorded in this book still survives in 'Old Devonshire House by Bishopsgate.'"

AGNES L. TIERNEY.

Strachey, Ray. *Marching On.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1923. Pp. 385, cloth. $2.00.

This story is by the author who brought out, a few years ago, a little book concerning Hannah Whitall Smith under the title, *A Quaker Grandmother.*

Marching On is a novel of ante-bellum days depicting the abolition agitation. The outstanding Quaker character is Angelina Severance, of Philadelphia, who influences the heroine, Susan, to join her in her activities of writing and speaking against slavery. Quaker life and Quaker worthies of Philadelphia are in the picture, although not often in the foreground. John Brown, Pottawatomie, Harper's Ferry, William Lloyd Garrison, the underground railroad, mobs, murders, lovers and haters are the head-liners. And at last the war comes and the northern soldiers go marching away to the tune of "John Brown's Body."

The novelist has attempted, successfully, to follow with fidelity the main currents of historical fact. It is a story of the agitation in the north and hence is frankly anti-southern. It is a vivid picture, with flaming passions in the foreground, and enough Quaker grays in the background to do justice to the facts, and to soften the high-lights.

Thomas, Norman. *The Conscientious Objector in America.* New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 1923. Pp. 299, cloth. $2.00.

While this book is not primarily Quaker history it contains many references to the Quaker peace testimony and to the attitude of Friends during the late war.

"The best known sect, if one may call it such, which has opposed warfare is the Society of Friends, commonly known as 'Quakers.' . . . Individual Friends have held somewhat divergent views, for there has always been freedom to follow the individual conscience. But . . . the official utterances of the Society of Friends have continued to affirm the wrongfulness of all war and to urge instead methods of good will."—pp. 34, 36.

In the light of the political campaign of 1924 the introduction by Robert M. LaFollette is of peculiar interest.

Wallis, Isaac Henry. *Frederick Andrews of Ackworth.* London: Longmans and Co. Pp. 325, cloth. 8 s. 6 d., net.

Few positions man can occupy in this world are more happy than that of being a widely-loved head master. Such was, in striking measure, the lot of the subject of this biography. Ackworth School, of which he was the head for 43 years, is a Friends' school of over 300 boys and girls in South Yorkshire. Andrews was a great head master. Not a scholar as head masters go, nor a great thinker, nor a daring reformer, but a Greatheart; he was beloved as few men in his time in England have been, and he deserved it. His whole being went out in kindness and sociability. He knew and remembered everybody who passed through his hands, he seemed always to be particularly interested in the person to whom he was talking, and besides his affability he abounded in real kindness. Indeed it was a weakness in him that he could not do without difficulty a hard or disagreeable thing. He added to these qualities that of being a really great cricketer and a gifted public speaker, and he had the easily commanding presence of a very tall man. His rugged features would have been unbeautiful but for the fatherly expression in them.

Mr. Wallis has done his work well. The present reviewer, who was one of F. Andrews's thousand friends, and knew most of the story and its environment, has been able to live over again many bright and many serious days. Good stories abound, as they should in the record of a gay and humorous man, and there is an atmosphere of happiness throughout; for Ackworth was a happy place under his rule. He taught English history and literature in an inspiring way to a large class and was in his element there. He was a true leader and master of boys and girls, one of those who had found their place in a particular profession, and he should be judged by his success therein.

He was an impressive preacher on simple, practical lines and an active politician also, on the side of Liberal principles, temperance, and peace. He was not an educational theorist, and did not value the technical training of teachers highly. He let his staff go their own way for the most part. Training could not have taught him much.

John W. Graham.

Dalton Hall, Manchester, England.

An announcement is at hand of a *History of the Quakers in Wales and their Emigration to North America,* by Rev. T. Mardy Rees, of Neath, S. Wales. The price is 12/6 post free for advance subscriptions, and orders should be sent to the author. The book will probably be reviewed in the next Bulletin.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS.

The Swarthmore Phoenix, 4 mo., 1924, contains an account of the history, so far as it is known, of the house on the Swarthmore College campus in which Benjamin West was born. This has been reprinted with a picture of the house in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 3 mo. 22, 1924.

The Conservation Society of York County, Pennsylvania, issued a pamphlet in 1904 giving the life of Phineas Davis, noted inventor, the last surviving member of York Meeting, who died some years ago. The citizens of York are interested in preserving the Meeting House as a memorial of Friends and their influence on the early life and history of the town. The pamphlet referred to contains a picture of the Meeting House.—*Friends' Intelligencer,* 3 mo. 29, 1924.

Henry Ferris has written a valuable account of George Fox's Travels in America, 1671–3. This has been published serially in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 5 mo. 3, to 6 mo. 7, 1924. This is a useful and appropriate piece of work for the anniversary year.

The two New York Yearly Meetings, Liberal and Orthodox, met together in 1924 in two of their sessions. One might consider whether anything more friendly has been done to commemorate the birth of George Fox.—*Friends' Intelligencer,* 6 mo. 7, 21, and 28, 1924. *American Friend,* 6 mo. 12, 1924.

Friends' Intelligencer, 6 mo. 21, 1924, contains a portrait of Norman Penney, and an account of his work as historian and editor of the writings of George Fox. This is in connection with the action of Haverford College in conferring upon Norman Penney the degree of LL.D., as recounted below in this BULLETIN.

The 200th anniversary of Sadsbury Meeting, near Christiana, Pa., was celebrated 6 mo. 14, 1924. There was a morning and an afternoon Meeting with addresses by President Frank Aydelotte, of Swarthmore College, and Dr. O. Edward Janney, of Baltimore, and a historical sketch by Jessie W. Jackson. Accounts of the Meetings and extracts from the historical sketch may be found in *Friends' Intelligencer,* 6 mo. 28, and 7 mo. 5, 1924, and in *The Friend,* 7 mo. 31, 1924. *Friends' Intelligencer,* 7 mo. 5, 1924, contains a picture of Old Sadsbury.

In *Friends' Intelligencer*, 7 mo. 19, 1924, is a picture of the Randolph Meeting House, near Dover, N. J., as well as an account of the first settlement of Friends there in 1740, and the building of the Meeting House in 1758.

In *Friends' Intelligencer*, 8 mo. 9, 1924, is printed the address given by President William W. Comfort, of Haverford College, at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Liberal), 1924. It is a study of the present educational problem of Friends in the light of history.

The Friend (Phila.), 2 mo. 28, 1924, p. 418, quotes from a correspondent who says that the Old Adams Cottage, Flora, near Northampton, England, has recently been bought by a group of persons from this country and presented to the English nation. The cottage was used as a Meeting House for about one hundred twenty years beginning with 1662. In that year a Meeting was established there by Thomas Adams, grandfather of President John Adams of the United States. The donors intend to restore the cottage and garden to their original condition when used by Friends.

The "Children's Corner" of *The Friend* (Phila.), 3 mo. 6, 13, 20, 1924, contains extracts from *A Dutchman's Daughter* (1894), by Eva Hansen Lamb,—the author was a pupil of Zebedee Haines, in the Friends' School at Moorestown, N. J., and gives some of her experiences under him.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 3 mo. 13, 1924, is an interesting account of Jesse W. Fell, a birthright Friend, who was a close personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. For many years he practised law in Bloomington, Illinois, and had much to do with making Lincoln President.

Elbert Russell, of Woolman School, Swarthmore, has a valuable account of "Early Friends and Education" in *The Friend* (Phila.), 3 mo. 13, 3 mo. 27, and 4 mo. 3, 1924. It is a careful study of the educational assets and liabilities of early Friends. The lack of higher education in the second generation of Friends is stressed. The account leaves one wishing again that a good college had been a part of the "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania.

This same paper is also published in *The Friend* (London), 3 mo. 21, and 3 mo. 28, 1924, and in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 3 mo. 15, and 4 mo. 5, 1924.

The Friend (Phila.), 3 mo. 27, 1924, p. 465, has an interesting item about "Old Brick Meeting House," East Nottingham, Md. "In the graveyard, with many worthies of earlier days, sleeps Elizabeth Maxwell Job, niece of Daniel Defoe."

The recent census of the present Congress of the United States shows three Friends in the House of Representatives.—*The Friend* (Phila.), 5 mo. 1, 1924.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 5 mo. 1, and 5 mo. 8, 1924, Anna Moore Cadbury ably traces the development of Friends' position on the question of creeds.

The Friend (Phila.), 4 mo. 24, 5 mo. 1, and 5 mo. 8, 1924, under the title "No such Governors Nowadays," publishes an account for children of Rebecca Shaw's horseback ride behind Governor Penn as she guided him through the woods to Haverford Meeting.

Frances T. Rhoads, in an account entitled "In the Footsteps of George Fox," tells of an automobile journey to Third Haven Meeting at Easton, Maryland. It was probably under the great oaks at this place that George Fox held a meeting,—"a very large and heavenly one it was."—*The Friend* (Phila.), 5 mo. 29, 1924, p. 569.

The Friend (Phila.), 6 mo. 12, 1924, prints an interesting letter which throws light upon the character of Anthony Benezet.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 7 mo. 31, 1924, Elbert Russell has a vivid account of the Tercentenary at Fenny Drayton, the little village in which George Fox was born. The house which was his birthplace is no longer there. The village, of less than two hundred souls, stands on the site of a Roman camp. The church, partly Norman and partly Gothic, has been built and re-built at various times. "Some of the porch is said to be seventh century." The old baptismal font inside and the yew trees in the churchyard must have been there in George Fox's day.

The celebration included addresses by A. Neave Brayshaw, Elbert Russell, and Herbert G. Wood, before an audience of over seven hundred in a huge tent erected for the purpose.

Friends' Intelligencer, 8 mo. 2, 1924, also contains an account of the Meeting at Fenny Drayton, by Dean Raymond Walters, of Swarthmore College, which summarizes the addresses given.

The name of Hans Guldbrandsen of Vejle has been familiar for many years to those who have kept in touch with the little group of Danish Friends. News has reached us of his death. He was for more than thirty years Clerk of the Annual Meeting of Danish Friends. He was father of Peter Guldbrandsen, whom many American Friends have been glad to meet in their home within the past few months. H. G. was imprisoned many

years ago as a C. O. Later he was released and substituted certain clerical work for military service. Throughout his long life he was a devoted worker in the cause of temperance and of peace.—*The Friend* (Phila.), 7 mo. 3, 1924, p. 9.

The American Friend, 5 mo. 8, 1924, publishes an essay written by a student at Happy Grove School, Seaside Jamaica. This gives briefly the history of Friends' work in Jamaica.

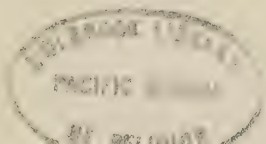
"The work of the Baltimore Association—The Quakers and Reconstruction in North Carolina" is the subject of a thesis for a Master's Degree at the University of North Carolina recently granted to Francis C. Anscombe. The thesis has received such favorable notice by the Faculty of the University that the author is planning to continue his investigations into the work in the South done by New York and Philadelphia Friends in the reconstruction days.—*The American Friend,* 5 mo. 15, 1924.

Luke Woodard has written a history of the "Revival Movement" as he saw and took part in it. This is published in *The American Friend,* 3 mo. 27, 4 mo. 19, and 4 mo. 17, 1924. A concise statement of the author's attitude toward theology is the following:

> "In the Revival Movement, the Bible was regarded as inspired from cover to cover; the cardinal doctrines of Christianity were preached, including the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and man's deep apostasy, together with the hopeless and eternal misery of the unsaved, the ample provisions of God's free grace and world embracing love, the virgin birth, the sinless human life, the Deity, the miracles, the teaching, the atoning sacrifice, the resurrection, ascension and intercession of the Son of God, made effectual for salvation on condition of repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ."

The American Friend, 4 mo. 17, 1924, prints in full Anton Lang's address to American Friends which he delivered before members of the American Friends' Service Committee and others while he and the other Oberammergau Players were in Philadelphia. The address is an expression of gratitude for the post-war service of Friends in Germany.

In response to a request from the Committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the Five Years Meeting to promote the Observance of the George Fox Tercentenary, Elizabeth H. Emerson and Gladys May Hunt of Penn College, Iowa, have written a pageant, "Life of George Fox in Story and Scene." This was first published serially in *The American Friend,* 4 mo. 17, 4 mo. 24, 5 mo. 1, 1924. This same paper published 6 mo. 12, and 6 mo. 26, 1924, another George Fox pageant under the title "Service—The Passion of Quakerism." "This Pageant intends to show something of the



spirit of the consecrated service which marked the life of George Fox and the Society of Friends."

The Olney Current, First Month, 1924, the quarterly organ of the alumni of the Friends' Boarding School, Barnesville, Ohio, contains "Personal Recollections of Mt. Pleasant in the Sixties," by Watson W. Dewees. This gives a picture of the life at the school and mentions many of the pupils, teachers, and committee.

The Gospel Minister, published at Westfield, Indiana, is the organ of a group of Friends of radical "fundamentalist" proclivities. In its issue of 2 mo. 7, 1924, appeared the following caption in large type on the front page: "Left the Five Years Meeting!" Under this heading was a long article beginning with the following paragraph:

"The disagreement between liberalists and fundamentalists, now a live issue in all the evangelical churches, came to a crisis among the Friends of Central Indiana last week when a group of fundamentalist tendencies left the Friends meeting house at Westfield on the occasion of their Monthly Meeting, walked to Union Bible Seminary building near by, and organized themselves into a Monthly Meeting independent of the Five Years Meeting, the central body of liberalistic tendencies that dominates nearly all the Friends meetings and institutions in America."

These are ominous words. They sound alarmingly like the stories of earlier divisions of unsavory memory. The item is reprinted here for its possible usefulness to some future historian of Quakerism. It is to be hoped, however, that this separatist movement will be so tiny that its historic significance will approach the vanishing point. A new separation would be an unsightly monument to the three hundredth anniversary of George Fox's birth.

In the *Friends Missionary Advocate,* 4th mo., 1924, pp. 115–119, appears a sketch, with portrait, of Elizabeth Test (1840–1922). She was a Quaker apostle to the Indians, having spent about thirty years of her life in mission work and teaching among the tribes of Oklahoma, especially among the Kickapoos. Her teaching efforts had a profound effect upon the Indians and she was usually referred to as "Teacher" without any use of her surname or given name.

Our fellow member, Rufus M. Jones, has found another "Pre-Fox Quaker" in Camillo, of Sicily, who found the secret of inward, spiritual religion a hundred years before George Fox.—See *The Friend* (London), 8 mo. 1, 1924, p. 667.—But John W. Graham worsts Rufus Jones in the backward race by nearly 3000 years. He finds "The First Quaker in History"

to be "his late Majesty" Tutankhamen, who discarded images, believed in spiritual worship, and carried out a reduction of armaments in Egypt.—*Friends' Intelligencer*, 7 mo. 5, 1924, p. 448.

The Friend (London), 3 mo. 21, 1924, p. 239, contains much of historical interest: "Friends in Radnorshire," with a picture of the Pales Meeting House which dates back to the seventeenth century; "Concerning Llandrindod Wells," with a picture of the Meeting House there, and earlier in the paper pictures of the town from a distant point, and of the Pavilion where the sessions of the recent Yearly Meeting were held.

"Through the generosity of George Cadbury the Woodbrooke Council has been able to found a readership in Quaker thought and history at Woodbrooke, and fellowships for research and advanced study. The permanent appointment to the position of Reader has not yet been made, but our friend John William Graham has accepted a Fellowship for the year 1924–5. It is expected that he will reside at Woodbrooke and give most of his time to research and literary work, but he will also give lectures on Quakerism and subjects closely connected with it during at least two of the three terms of his appointment."—*The Friend* (London), 3 mo. 21, 1924.

The Friend (London), 4 mo. 4, 1924, has a reproduction of Terence H. Lambert's etching of Jordans Meeting House.

In *The Friend* (London), 4 mo. 11, 1924, is an account of the purchase of the Friends' Burying Place on the island of Guernsey in 1796, twenty years after Friends settled on that island.

"The latest addition to Quaker Guest Houses is the 'Blue Idol,' that picturesque Quaker meeting-house situated in an orchard at the end of a little country lane, at Coolham, Sussex, not many miles from Horsham. It was in 1919 that a party of voluntary workers, including C.O.'s with recent 'spring cleaning' experience in prison, an Australian soldier, and several women Friends, started the work of renovating the meeting-house and cottage where William Penn so often worshipped. The work has now been completed and the place is no longer 'idle' or blue."—*The Friend* (London), 4 mo. 11, 1924, p. 301.

The Friend (London), 5 mo. 23, 1924, p. 429, contains interesting extracts from the unpublished journal of Joseph Wood, of Newhouse, Highflatts, Yorkshire. In 1773, at the age of 23, he walked most of the 153 miles to the Welsh Yearly Meeting at Newtown, Montgomery.

The Friend (London), 7 mo. 11, 1924, contains the most important collection of articles on George Fox that has thus far appeared during the anniversary year. Various phases of Fox's life and message are covered by the most competent authorities in the field of Quaker history. There are also valuable illustrations. *The Friend* has given us a "Tercentenary Number" in which we may all take pride.

In *The Friend* (London), 7 mo. 25, 1924, p. 659, is a list of articles on George Fox and the Society of Friends that appeared in various periodicals. The public press is more than generous to Friends in this tercentenary year.

The Friend (London), 8 mo. 1, 1924, publishes an account of George Fox's visit to Rhode Island in 1672, and the pamphlets which followed from his pen and that of Roger Williams, and the debate between William Edmondson and Roger Williams.

Several well-known Friends have passed away in England recently. Among them the following have been noted at length, with portraits, in *The Friend* (London):

Ann E. Clark, M.D. (1844–1924), "The First Friend Woman Doctor." She took her M.D. in 1877 at the University of Berne, Switzerland.—3 mo. 14, 1924, p. 209.

Sir James Reckitt, Baronet (1833–1924), of Hull, manufacturer and philanthropist.—3 mo. 28, 1924, p. 253.

E. Claude Taylor, M.D. (1871–1924), late of Hampstead. Many American Friends who attended the London Conference of 1920 will remember his fine, forceful personality.—4 mo. 11, 1924, p. 304.

R. Hingston Fox, M.D. (1853–1924). Many Friends have enjoyed his valuable book entitled *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends.* He had been elected President of the Friends Historical Society (England) for the current year.—5 mo. 2, 1924, p. 354.

The Journal of The Friends Historical Society (London), Vol. 20, Nos. 3 and 4 (1923), concludes the correspondence of Thomas Carleton (1699–1792), of Kennett, Pennsylvania, with relatives in Ireland. There is also a lively description of him near the close of his very long life. Valuable foot-notes are appended concerning two American Friends who were ministers, Thomas Carrington (c. 1721–1781) and Thomas Ross (1709–1786). After the latter had preached on one occasion the following cautious commendation of him was ventured by a Friend: "Although Thomas did not shine today, he is sometimes an highly favor'd Minister."

In *The Journal of The Friends Historical Society* (London), Vol. 20, Nos. 3 and 4 (1923), Norman Penney continues his notes on "Friends who have led the Way in various directions." See pages 126–131. The items of closest interest to American Friends are those concerning: Dr. Bartholomew Fussell (1794–1871); Dr. John C. Lettsom (1744–1815); Dr. Ann Preston (1813–1872); George M. Justice (1792–1862); Thomas Eddy 1758–1827); Dr. William Thornton (1761–1828); Lindley Murray (1745–1826); James Laws, of Germantown, Pa.; Mark Newbury (–1683); James C. Hallock (1809–1885); Reuben Haines (1786–1831); Jethro Wood (1774–c. 1840); C. Francis Jenkins, of Washington, D. C.

In *The Journal* (cited above), pp. 133–135, there is also a good deal of genealogical data, some of it touching American Friends, gleaned from the *Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke, of Rhode Island, and Dungan Genealogy,* by Alfred R. Justice, of Philadelphia.—See also item, p. 136, on Thomas Holme (c. 1624–1695), William Penn's surveyor-general.

Of the many articles on George Fox this year *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner* has its quota, that should not be missed. There is a valuable chronological outline of the life of Fox in the edition of Fourth Month, 1924, pp. 112–113. The articles by Ernest E. Taylor are illuminating and stirring.

In *House and Garden,* 8 mo., 1923, p. 44 ff., is an article concerning William Savery (1722–1787) with title and sub-title as follows: "A Cabinet Maker of Colonial America—In William Savery of Philadelphia Collectors May Find a Figure to Rival Duncan Phyfe." It seems that the greatness of this Quaker cabinet maker was discovered accidentally a few years ago in connection with a beautiful mahogany dressing table preserved in the old Van Cortlandt Manor House, New York. Attached to this dressing table was a printed address-label: "William Savery, at the Sign of the Chair, near the market on Second Street."

Several plates illustrating Savery's beautiful work are printed in connection with the above-mentioned article, and the author, Gardner Teall, ranks Savery above Duncan Phyfe. "On the tables the carving of the skirts is fully worthy to be placed along with the best work of the English cabinet-makers of the Chippendale period" (p. 106).

(The subject of the above item was the father of William Savery (1750–1804), the eminent minister. Francis R. Taylor writes, "the address should more properly read, 'in Second Street a little below the Market,' to correspond with a label on one of my mother's chairs.")

Elizabeth B. Satterthwait read a paper in 11 mo., 1923, on "Mahlon Stacy, Quaker Founder of Trenton," before the "Mahlon Stacy Division, Sons

and Daughters of the Pilgrim Society." It is an interesting account of Quaker pioneers at the Falls of the Delaware, and is printed in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* 4 mo., 1924, pp. 150–158.

D. H. Gardner has an article on "The Emancipation of Slaves in New Jersey" in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* 1 mo., 1924, pp. 1–21. It is not an important contribution, but there is in it a good deal about the anti-slavery attitude of John Woolman and of Friends in general.

In *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* 7 mo., 1924, pp. 418–453, is an article entitled, "Travelling on the Underground Railroad in Iowa." It is intensely interesting and much of it reads like a chapter from Quaker history. Isaac Pidgeon, Joseph D. Hoag, Eli Jessup, and other pioneer Friends of Iowa are mentioned, and some vivid lights are flashed upon the early history of the Friendly community at Salem, Iowa.

Secret closets in Quaker homes, loads of hay and bran with hollow interiors,—these for the hiding of fugitive slaves—and many a clever ruse for getting like contraband away from eager pursuers, make up the fabric of the story. "Who but a Quaker" could have thought up such ingenious devices, exclaims the writer (p. 423), and we judge that his exclamation was meant as a compliment.

James H. Dillard writes in *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* 7 mo., 1923, of the "Negro Rural School Fund, Anna T. Jeanes Foundation," usually known simply as the Jeanes Fund. Here we have some account of the life of Anna T. Jeanes who in 1907 gave one million dollars "to keep the little country schools," and a brief summary of the work accomplished under the foundation. It was Anna T. Jeanes who also built and endowed the Friends' Boarding Home in Germantown. Here she lived for the last four years of her life, as simply as the other residents in the Home.

It would be impossible at the present moment to list all of the articles on George Fox and Friends that are among the first fruits of this anniversary year. The following have come to the attention of the editor, and others will perhaps be noted in the next number of the BULLETIN.

The Nation (N. Y.), 6 mo. 25, 1924, p. 732. On George Fox.

The Contemporary Review, 7 mo., 1924, p. 63. On George Fox.

There was an article on John Woolman in *The Christian Century,* 7 mo. 10, 1924, p. 885; another in *The Friend* (Phila.), 3 mo. 13, 1924, p. 434, copied from *The Independent,* 8 mo. 4, 1923, p. 34; another in *The Freeman,* 3 mo. 21, 1923, p. 41.

It may also be hoped that convinced Friends have not missed the follow-

ing: " Silent Sectaries," in *The Fortnightly Review*, 4 mo., 1923, p. 625; and " The Way of Plain Friends," in *The Atlantic Monthly*, 6 mo., 1924, p. 773.

(The editor wishes to acknowledge the efficient help of Susan J. Dewees in the preparation of the above Items from Periodicals.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The group portrait of the four original surviving members of Friends' Historical Association, used as a frontispiece in the BULLETIN, 13 (1924), Spring Number, was secured through the efforts and generosity of Lillian W. (Mrs. Edward) Woolman, of Haverford, Pennsylvania. Another view of the same group, beautifully framed, was presented by Mrs. Woolman to the Association on the occasion of the Tercentenary Meeting, 5 mo. 17, 1924. What makes this portrait doubly valuable is that the donor secured the autographs of the four surviving members, each one writing his name on the border below his picture. The value of such a memorial increases by rapid progression as the years pass.

An appeal has been sent out recently by the Trustees of the John Woolman Memorial Association for definite annual contributions for the maintenance of the Woolman Memorial at Mount Holly, New Jersey.

The following paragraph from the appeal should be read and pondered by all who care for Quaker history:

" We would lay great stress upon the important fact that in this modest little dwelling we have the only home preserved to the memory of a great American Quaker, except that of the poet Whittier in New England, which has not received the financial support it so richly deserves. Our English Friends have secured for preservation the beautiful homes associated with George and Margaret Fox, and with William Penn, in Swarthmoor Hall and Jordans, which makes their strong appeal to every American who visits them. The Trustees are making a very great effort to keep green the name and work of our own great Quaker philanthropist, in the house where he lived and the restoration of the garden which he loved. They are depending upon a sufficient support to maintain this Memorial to John Woolman."

The following types of membership are offered, with the annual dues as indicated: Annual, $2.00; Sustaining, $10.00; Contributing, $25.00; Supporting, $100.00. One becomes a Founder by contributing $500.00 to the Endowment Fund, in which case annual dues are omitted. Those interested should address Amelia M. Gummere, President, or Edward Woolman, Treasurer, both at Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, Fifteenth and Race Streets, gave special attention to the George Fox tercentenary in its sessions of 1924. An attractive folder was published containing a program of the evening meetings, which were devoted to addresses on the life and message of Fox and to Quaker problems of the present.

Liberal Friends also remembered the anniversary by having a George Fox pageant at their General Conference at Ocean City, in the Seventh Month, and one at Buck Hill Falls a short time later.

Buck Hill Falls is the summer settlement founded and operated by Liberal Friends in the mountains of eastern Pennsylvania, about one hundred miles north of Philadelphia. Here a neat little cottage, re-named "Foxhowe," has been set aside for the use of visiting Friends who are invited to come and lecture on the history and message of Friends and on related subjects. The "Foxhowe Program" during the summer of 1924 provided something like eighteen lecturers and more than twenty-five lectures.

In compiling reference notes for the BULLETIN concerning prominent Friends, now deceased, the Editor has more than once regretted that no adequate biographical sketch is in print concerning Thomas Wistar Brown (1826–1916), the great benefactor of Haverford College and of many other worthy institutions and causes. For the information of those interested it may be stated that there is a type-written paper of five pages, bound in pamphlet form and preserved in the Library of Haverford College. It is a brief, appreciative, biographical sketch by Richard M. Gummere, prepared soon after the death of T. Wistar Brown, in 1916.

The action of Haverford College in awarding the honorary degree of LL.D. to Norman Penney has brought pleasure to many Friends on both sides of the Atlantic. The special debt of the BULLETIN to Doctor Penney for his constant, generous, and efficient help cannot be paid. The BULLETIN can only record here the action of Haverford College and applaud it heartily.

The words of President William W. Comfort, in awarding the degree at the Haverford commencement exercises, Sixth Month 13, 1924, were as follows:

> "Upon Norman Penney, of London, England: Quaker scholar, librarian, historian: editor of the classic edition of the Journal of George Fox; for many years librarian of the Friends' Reference Library and editor of the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, in London, who by consultation and by correspondence has placed Quaker historians in America under constant obligation to his exact knowledge of sources, —a debt which may be fittingly acknowledged in this anniversary year, the three hundredth since the birth of George Fox,—Haverford College now bestows the highest honor in its gift, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, *in absentia*."

The BULLETIN is indebted to its faithful patron, Richard T. Cadbury, for a clipping from *The Times* (London), 4 mo. 9, 1924, concerning a meeting of the Non-conformist Unionist League in London. Stanley Baldwin, recent Prime Minister, had a word or two to say about his Quaker ancestry, as will be seen from the following excerpt from the newspaper account:

> "Mr. Baldwin, referring to his Nonconformist ancestry, said it had been curiously crossed by two very strong strains, which sometimes worked comfortably and sometimes very uncomfortably side by side. He had a Quaker strain that went back to the earliest days of the Quakers, for one of his ancestors went out in the reign of William III, as a missionary to the American colonies. That Quaker blood was peculiarly persistent, and he attributed to it a certain obstinacy which he found co-existing with one of the most placable dispositions that ever a man had. (Laughter.) He found sometimes that when he conceived a matter to be one of principle, he felt he would rather go to the stake than give way. (Cheers.) The Quakers were by far the most persecuted body of Nonconformists, and that strain of Quakerism made one absolutely impervious to the abuse which necessarily occurred in public life."

The fifty-fifth annual meeting of the Friends' Philadelphia Indian Aid Association, held 3 mo. 1, 1924, was a historic occasion because it was probably the last. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) during the same week appointed a new Indian Committee to take charge of this work in addition to the older work at Tunesassa, New York. The Friends' Philadelphia Indian Aid Association was formed in 1869 to coöperate with Friends of other yearly meetings in carrying on the official work among the western Indians assigned to Friends by President Ulysses S. Grant.

The former home of James and Rachel Silliven, near Pennville (formerly Camden), Indiana, is being preserved as a historical memorial. Eliza Harris, the original of the heroine of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* was entertained here on her flight to Canada after crossing the Ohio River on the blocks of ice.—See clipping from *Muncie Sunday Star* (Muncie, Indiana), 8 mo. 19, 1923, filed in Haverford College Library.—This escaped slave woman was also entertained by Levi and Catharine Coffin, at Newport (now Fountain City), Indiana, where the latter gave her the name of Eliza Harris. The Coffins later visited Eliza when she was happily settled in her own home at Chatham, Canada.—*Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* (1880), 147 ff.

By the generosity of kindly disposed Friends the Haverford College Library has been enabled to carry through the compilation of a large and important index of Quaker necrology. The deaths recorded in *The Friend* (Phila.) from its first publication, in 1827, to the present time, have been copied on index cards and arranged in alphabetical order. The same

thing has been done with *The Friends' Intelligencer* from 1842 to the present; also from the one volume of *Friends' Intelligencer*, early series, 1838–1839.

The Friend yielded about twelve thousand names, and *The Intelligencer* about twenty-four thousand. This probably constitutes the largest index to Quaker biography ever compiled in the modern period. The College is now prepared to answer more promptly and effectively than heretofore the inquiries as to when various Friends died or were born, to what meetings they belonged, etc. It is well known to all who have worked in the field of history and biography that even the meagre data given in a death notice may open the way to a considerable amount of other material on the subject. Of course not all deaths were reported to the Friends' papers, but thirty-six thousand were so reported to the two periodicals thus far indexed. Such a list offers a real ray of hope to the wayworn searcher.

It is proposed to continue this card file down to date, and to cover the necrology in other prominent periodicals of American Friends. All who may be interested are invited to make use of the resulting index in person or by written inquiries.

Haverford College has recently secured from Lucy B. Roberts a large and important addition to its materials for Quaker history.

The collection fills fifteen large filing boxes, with contents as follows:

1 box, American Friends' Meeting Houses.
1 English Friends' Meeting Houses.
1 American Friends' Schools.
1 English Friends' Schools.
1 American Friends' Portraits.
1 English Friends' Portraits.
2 American Friends' Letters.
1 English Friends' Letters.
1 Barclay Letters.
2 Friends' Epistles.
1 Anti-Quaker Cartoons and Broadsides.
1 Miscellaneous.

A few particulars will illustrate the value of the collection.

There are about one hundred letters by Robert Barclay, of London (great grandson of the Apologist), to Dr. Thomas Parke and others, of Philadelphia, about 1774–1789. These letters have never been used by historians and bid fair to throw considerable new light on the attitude and activities of Friends during the American Revolution.

There are also letters by Whittier, Thomas Story, the Pembertons, and one signed by George Fox. There is a long letter in the handwriting of Martha Washington, signed by George Washington, with interesting references to Friends of Philadelphia.

The portraits of Friends and views of Friends' meeting houses and schools form a unique collection that probably is not duplicated anywhere.

The site of Fort Littleton, one of the chain of frontier defenses of the Province of Pennsylvania in the French and Indian wars, built in 1756 by Governor Robert Hunter Morris, has now been marked by The Pennsylvania Historical Commission and The Fulton County Historical Society. A tall native-stained boulder, to which is attached an inscribed oblong bronze tablet, especially designed by Paul P. Cret, has been erected at the place, which is on the Old State Road, a little to the east of the present town of Fort Littleton, Fulton County, Pennsylvania. The ceremonies of the unveiling took place at the site of the Fort, 7 mo. 26, 1924. Albert Cook Myers, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, gave the principal historical address at the unveiling.

Some stirring of interest was caused by an announcement in the newspapers early in 1924 concerning a so-called "Benjamin Franklin Fund." It was said that Franklin left a small fund in charge of Friends, which had been accumulating ever since and was now very large. Recent large awards by the "Fund" to specialists in medical study were cited. Investigation by Friends in England and America revealed no clue to such a fund. The whole story finally turned out to be a hoax. Investigators for the American Medical Association traced it to a man in Los Angeles, California, whose sole excuse for the fabrication was that "he did it as a joke and to win a bet."—See *Public Ledger* (Phila.), 4 mo. 14, 1924, editorial note.

"Mary Janet Taylor," as printed in the BULLETIN, 12 (1923) : 89, should be "Mary Jane Taylor."

Since the copy was made up for this BULLETIN the death of two prominent Friends has been announced in Friendly journals: John H. Barlow, of England, and Timothy Nicholson, of America. Further data concerning these Friends will appear in the next BULLETIN.

A loss that comes very close home to the members of Friends' Historical Association is that of Howard Barclay French, who died at Radnor, Pennsylvania, Tenth Month 16, 1924. He was one of the four surviving original members of the Association and coöperated in wholehearted fashion in the recent amalgamation of the two societies. A more extended notice will appear in the next number of the BULLETIN.